SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA
LXXII

GIACOMELLA OROFINO

SEKODDEŚA

A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS

With an Appendix by RANIERO GNOLI
ON THE SANSKRIT TEXT

ROMA
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1994

ROME ORIENTAL SERIES

Already published

1. — TUCCI G., *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings.*
II. — PETECH L., *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu.*
III. — FRAUWALLNER E., *On the date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu.*
IV. — ROCK J.F., *The 'Na-'khi Nāga cult and related ceremonies.* Part I and II.
V. — *Conferenze,* Vol. I. Containing lectures delivered at Is.M.E.O. by G. COEDÈS, J.L. DUYVENDAK, C. HENTZE, P.H. POTT.
VI. — CONZE E., *Abhisamayālaṅkāra.* Introduction and translation from the original text, with Sanskrit-Tibetan indexes.
VII. — *Conferenze,* Vol. II. Containing lectures delivered at Is.M.E.O. by H. CORBIN, N. EGAMI, M. ELIADE, J. FILLIOZAT, P. HUMBERTCLAUDE, J. MASUI, E.H. DE TSCHARNER.
VIII. — FRAUWALLNER E., *The earliest Vinaya and the beginnings of Buddhist literature.*
IX, 1. — TUCCI G., *Minor Buddhist Texts,* Part I. Containing Asaṅga's commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* edited and translated; Analysis of the commentary on it by Vasubandhu; *Mahāyānaviṃśikā* of Nāgārjuna; *Navaśloki* of Kambalapāda; *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* of Amṛtākara, *Hetutattvopadeśa* of Jitāri; *Tarkasopāna* of Vidyākaraśānti. Whith an appendix containing the Gilgit Text of the *Vajracchedikā,* edited by N.P. CHAKRAVARTI.
IX, 2. — TUCCI G., *Minor Buddhist Texts,* Part II. *First Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśila.*
X, 1. — TUCCI G., *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal.*
X, 2. — GNOLI R., *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters.* Part I, Text and Plates.
X, 3. — PETECH L., *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1480).*
XI. — GNOLI R., *The aesthetic experience according to Abhinavagupta.*
XII. — ROCK J.F., *The Amnye Ma-chhen range and adjacent regions.*
XIII. — CONZE E., *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā.*
XIV. — *Le symbolisme cosmique des monuments religieux.* Conférences par R. BLOCH, J. DANIÉLOU, M. ELIADE, M. GRIAULE, C. HENTZE, C. LEVI-STRAUSS, H.C. PUECH, G. TUCCI.
XV. — WYLIE T.V., *A place name index to George N. Roerich's translation of the Blue Annals.*
XVI. — FERRARI A., *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet.*
XVII. — *Orientalia Romana.* 1, Essays and Lectures, by E. BENZ, H. CORBIN, A. GODARD, L. HAMBIS, V. MINORSKY, S.P. TOLSTOV.
XVIII. — ROERICH G., *Le parler de l'Amdo.* Étude d'un dialecte archaïque du Tibet.
XIX. — VAN GULIK R.H., *Chinese Pictorial Arts as viewed by the Connoisseur.*
XX. — MAHLER J.G., *The Westerners among the Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty of China.*
XXI. — *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka.* Testo, traduzione e note a cura di G. PUGLIESE-CARRATELLI e di G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, con prefazione di G. TUCCI e introduzione di U. SCERRATO.
XXII. — LEE P.H., *Studies in the* Saenaennorae: *old Korean poetry.*
XXIII. — GNOLI R., *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti. The first chapter with autocommentary.* Text and critical notes.
XXIV. — TUCCI G., *Deb t'er dmar po, Tibetan Chronicles,* by bSod nams grags pa, vol. I. Tibetan Text, Emendations to the English translation and an Appendix containing two Minor Chronicles.
XXV. — WYLIE T.V., *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad.*
XXVI. — CONZE E., *The Gilgit manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhsrikāprajñāparamitā. Chapters 55 to 70 corresponding to the 5th Abhisamaya.* Text and English translation. (*Literary and Historical Documents from Pakistan* - 1).
XXVII. — GNOLI R., *Udbhāṭa's Commentary on the Kāvyālaṃkāra of Bhāmaha.* Sanskrit fragments from Pakistan. Edited with critical notes (*Literary and Historical Documents from Pakistan* - 2).
XXVIII, 1 — ROCK J.F., *A 'Na-'Khi - English Encyclopedic Dictionary.* Part I.
XXVIII, 2 — ROCK J.F., *A 'Na-'Khi - English Encyclopedic Dictionary.* Part II. *Gods, Priests, Ceremonies, Stars, Geographical Names.*
XXIX. — *A bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict of Aśoka,* Text, Translation and Notes by G. PUGLIESE-CARRATELLI and G. GARBINI, Foreword by G. TUCCI, Introduction by U. SCERRATO.
XXX. — GNOLI G., *Le iscrizioni Giudeo-Persiane del Ġūr* (*Afghanistan*).
XXXI. — AUBOYER J., *Introduction a l'étude de l'art de l'Inde.*

Please turn to next cover

ISTITUTO ITALIANO
PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

FONDATA DA GIUSEPPE TUCCI

DIRETTA DA

GHERARDO GNOLI

Vol. LXXII

ROMA
Is. M. E. O.
1994

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA
LXXII

GIACOMELLA OROFINO

SEKODDEŚA

A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS

With an Appendix by RANIERO GNOLI
ON THE SANSKRIT TEXT

ROMA
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1994

Distributed by Herder, International Book Centre,
120, Piazza Montecitorio, 00186 Rome, Italy.

In Italy by Libreria Distributrice Degrassi,
61a, Via Fonteiana, 00152 Roma.

In India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka by Munshiram Manoharlal,
Post Box 5715, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110055.

TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI

Printed in Italy – Stampato in Italia

Stampa: «Studio Tipografico SP» – Via Clemente IX, 12 – 00167 Roma – Tel. e Fax: 06/6146350
Finito di stampare nel mese di luglio 1994

In memory of Giuseppe Tucci
on the centenary of his birth

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface ..... Pag. 9

INTRODUCTION

I. THE *SEKODDEŚA* IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE KĀLACAKRA TRADITION ..... » 11

II. THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS ..... » 25

1. *The 'Bro Tradition* ..... » 25
   a. The Tibetan Canon ..... » 25
   b. The Eastern Tradition of the Kanjur ..... » 26
   c. The Western Tradition of the Kanjur ..... » 27
   d. Methodological Considerations ..... » 28
   e. The Sources ..... » 29
   f. Stemmatic Relationships ..... » 30

2. *The Rwa Tradition* ..... » 35
   a. The Sources ..... » 36

III. NOTES ON THE CRITERIA ADOPTED IN THE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS ..... » 38

IV. ANALYSIS OF THE TWO TRANSLATIONS ..... » 39

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... » 45

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS ..... » 53

SINGLE READINGS

TEXT A ..... » 117
TEXT B ..... » 119

APPENDIX BY RANIERO GNOLI ..... » 123

Introduction ..... » 127
List of the Sources ..... » 129
The Sanskrit Text ..... » 131

PREFACE

In Buddhist Tantric literature the *Sekoddeśa* holds a position of considerable interest. Infact it is the first text of the Kālacakra tradition to have come down to us and contains the nucleus of the doctrine of this religious movement which represents the culmination of medieval Indian Buddhism before its decline.

The original Sanskrit version, consisting in 174 stanzas in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, is lost apart from the first folio, extant in two distinct manuscripts both preserved in the National Archives of Kathmandu. However, as the reader will see below in the edition by Professor Raniero Gnoli, the reconstruction of the entire Sanskrit text has been made possible because in the exegetical literature more than seventy stanzas are found integrally and the others have been restored on the basis of the extant commentaries in Sanskrit and of the numerous quotations occurring in other Sanskrit texts.

The *Sekoddeśa* was translated into Tibetan in the second half of the eleventh century, the first time by the Kashmiri Paṇḍit Somanātha and the Tibetan Lo tsā ba 'Bro Dge slong Shes rab grags. This translation (Text A) is preserved in all the Tibetan *Bka' 'gyur* (henceforth Kanjur) collections deriving from the old Snar thang prototype. At the end of the eleventh century it was drastically revised, so much so as to represent a second, different translation, by the Nepalese Paṇḍit Samantaśrī and the Tibetan Lo tsā ba Rwa Chos rab. This second version (Text B) is preserved in the independent tradition of the Phug brag Kanjur recently found in the east of Western Tibet.

This study forms part of a larger research project under the auspices of the Italian CNR (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche) started in 1991 under the direction of Prof. Raniero Gnoli on the first period of the *Kālacakratantra* literature. Together we read and translated large part of the early literature on the Kālacakra, including various commentaries on the *Sekoddeśa:* the *Ṭīkā* by Nāropā, the anonymous *Pañjikā* translated by Bu ston and the *Ṭippaṇi* by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, all due for publication soon both in critical editions in Sanskrit and Tibetan and in Italian and English translation.

Those who know Prof. Raniero Gnoli either personally or through his

numerous works, will realise which eminent school I had the good fortune to attend during these years, and for this he has my heartfelt gratitude. I must express likewise my great appreciation to Dr Helmut Eimer of the Indologisches Seminar in Bonn. Unanimously considered the father of Tibetan Kanjur studies, he let me have copies of the two Tibetan versions of the *Sekoddeśa* preserved in the Phug brag Kanjur and also read a preliminary version of this work, offering me precious advice. I also wish to thank all those who helped me to collect the sources for the critical edition of the texts: first of all the Hungarian scholar Dr Géza Bethlenfalvy, who gave me a photocopy of the *Sekoddeśa* text conserved in the inaccessible *Them spangs ma* Kanjur preserved in the Ulan Bator State Library. Moreover I wish to thank Dr Helga Uebach and Dr Jampa L. Panlung of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Munich for having sent to me a photocopy of the text from the Sde dge Mtshal pa Kanjur and the Stog Palace Kanjur; Dr Günther Grönbold of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich for his help and Dr H. Ortwin Feistel of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for supplying me very promptly with a microfilm of the text from the 'Jang Sa tham or Lithang Kanjur preserved in Berlin; Ms Gita Venu Gopal and the staff of the Oriental & India Office Library for providing me with a photographic reproduction of the text from the London Manuscript Kanjur and from the Snar thang Kanjur blockprint preserved in the British Library, and the staff of the Toyo Bunko Library for very rapidly sending me a copy of the text preserved in the Kawaguchi Collection Manuscript Kanjur.

I also wish to thank Dr Andrew Lukianowicz for his help in revising the English text.

Furthermore I am grateful to Prof. Gherardo Gnoli, President of the IsMEO and to the boards of Directors for having accepted this short study for publication in SOR.

Giacomella Orofino

INTRODUCTION

I. The *Sekoddeśa* in the Early History of the Kālacakra Tradition

According to tradition, the *Sekoddeśa* is a section of the *Paramādibuddha* or the *Mūlakālacakratantra*, the root tantra of the Kālacakra school believed to consist of 12,000 verses that was lost in Sanskrit and was not translated into Tibetan.

I will briefly summarise the traditional account of the origin of the Kālacakra teaching in order to clarify the position of the *Paramādibuddha* in the context of the first phase of the Kālacakra religious literature[1].

Tradition has it[2] that the *Paramādibuddha* was first promulgated by Lord Buddha at the request of Sucandra, emanation of Vajrapāṇi and King of the mythical realm of Sambhala[3], in the *Dharmadhātu maṇḍala* at Śrīdhānyakaṭaka,

[1] For further information the reader is referred to the works by J. Newman (1985, 1987a: 70-113, 1987b).

[2] LKC (Skr. & Tib.) I: 1-3; Nāropā, *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, Skr.: 1-4, Tib.: 105-106 (fols. 259a-259b); Bu ston, *Dus 'khor chos 'byung*: fols. 23-27.

[3] In the Kālacakra literature the mythical kingdom of Sambhala is a transposition and adaptation of a myth already found in the Viṣṇuite tradition. In the *Mahābhārata* and in various *Purāṇa* Sambhala is the name of a village of indeterminate location where the last avatāra of Viṣṇu will reincarnate as the son of Viṣṇu-Yaśaḥ, under the name Kalkin, to destroy the barbarians at the end of the current degenerate Kali age. The term Sambhala was transliterated into Tibetan as Śambhala and this is the reason why in western literature, starting with Alexander Csoma de Körös (1833: 57) it has consistently been referred to as Śambhala. In the Kālacakra literature we find that Sambhala is no longer a simple village, but has become a fabulous kingdom at the centre of a vast empire of ninety-six great lands and of nine hundred-sixty million villages where King Kalkin's dynasty reigned. We also find the prophecy that at the end of the Kaliyuga the last Buddhist king Raudracakrin, son of Mañjuśrī-Yaśaḥ, would lead the great army of Sambhala against the enemy, in this case the forces of Islam, and re-establish the Buddhist law. It should be underlined that in the *Laghukālacakratantra* (II, 48-50) a symbolic interpretation is given to the great final battle between the Buddhists and the unbelievers, whereby Kalkin represents right knowledge, his fourfold army the four "Immeasurable Virtues", Muhammad the tempting demon, the killing of the unbelievers their conversion etc.; thus the outer battle becomes a metaphor for the inner one. The kingdom of Sambhala should therefore be interpreted allegorically; however the precise geographical description found in the early Kālacakra literature suggests a historical interpretation: in fact, as related by Newman (*Forthcoming*: 4) the VP asserts that this kingdom was situated north of

a place regarded in the Kālacakra tradition as the fount of all the Vajrayāna teachings[4].

Sucandra then wrote the twelve thousand verses Kālacakra *mūlatantra* and returned to Sambhala where he taught and transmitted it. Sucandra was followed by a lineage of kings of Sambhala, all practitioners of the Kālacakra doctrine, whose reigns lasted one hundred years each. The seventh king, King Yaśaḥ, was an emanation of Mañjuśrī; he was known as the first Kalkin[5] of Sambhala and wrote the *Śri Kālacakra* or *Laghukālacakratantra* (LKC) an abridged version (*laghu)* of the *Paramādibuddha,* traditionally considered to consist of 1030 stanzas and which is still extant in Sanskrit and in its Tibetan translation[6]. Yaśaḥ sired a son, Puṇḍarīka, an emanation of *Avalokiteśvara,* who authored the extensive commentary to the LKC, the *Vimalaprabhā* (VP) whose length corresponds to twelve thousands lines. The LKC and the VP are still extant in Sanskrit and in their Tibetan translations[7] and among the followers of the Kālacakra school the *Laghutantra* takes the actual role of the

the Sītā river, and in a passage on astronomy it transpires that this kingdom lay north of Tibet, Kotan and China. This leads Newman (*ibidem*) to identify the river Sītā with the river Tarim in eastern Turkestan, in the area north of Tien-Sha, and to hypothesise that the kingdom of Sambhala might correspond with the Uighur kingdom centred around Khocho which flourished *circa* A.D. 850-1250. See Newman 1985: 83, fn. 4. Nevertheless, however fascinating, this hypothesis is far from having been proved.

[4] See Newman 1987a: 72-75. Dhānyakaṭaka, which has been located in the proximity of the village of Amarāvatī in the Guntur District of Āndhra Pradesh in India, was the site of a marble *stūpa* of considerable dimension, probably dating back to the second century A.D. or earlier, that was razed to the ground in the nineteenth century by a petty *rāja*. Vestiges of the *stūpa* are now preserved in museums in India and Europe. Cf. Hoffmann 1973; Newman 1885: 52-54; Newman 1987a: 71.

[5] In the Buddhist Kālacakra literature the epiteth *Kalkin* (Tib. *rigs-ldan)* assumed the specific meaning of sovereign-master, from *kalkaḥ:* a kind of tenacious paste or a paste used as plaster or cement (cf. Apte: *s.v.*), because he binds in unity, he cements the four castes, by conferring on them the adamantine initiation. See VP, V, MS. Calcutta: fol.203b, l.7. Cf. also Newman 1987a: 94; 1988: 132.

[6] In the Tibetan translation its full Sanskrit title is quoted as *Paramādibuddhoddhṛta-Śri-Kālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja.*

[7] On the different Sanskrit editions of the LKC and of the VP, so far only partially edited, see Newman 1987a: 660-661. The Tibetan version of the LKC by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab grags is preserved in the various Kanjur editions: see Eimer 1989: 60 as well as in the Sde dge *Bstan 'gyur* (henceforth Tanjur) (D 1346), and in the annotated revision by Bu ston to which I refer in this work, see Bibliography. The Tibetan translation of the VP by Shong ston rdo rje rgyal mtshan is preserved in the various Tanjur editions (D 1347, Q #2064) as well as in the Sde dge Kanjur (D 845). We have also a revised and annotated version by Bu ston, see Bibliography.

mūlatantra [8], while its extensive commentary represents the major source of information we have on the Kālacakra system.

Yaśaḥ was the first in a lineage of 25 Kalkin of Sambhala whose names are found, together with those of the preceding kings, in the VP. This list of names of the seven Dharmarāja and of the twenty-five Kalkin of Sambhala was then frequently repeated in the later Tibetan literature of the Kālacakra tradition[9].

We have no certainty about the original length of the *Paramādibuddha*, neither are we certain whether it ever existed as an entire text. In the exegetical literature of the Kālacakra tradition of the early phase, however, it is possible to trace numerous other fragments of it apart from the *Sekoddeśa* verses, demonstrating that other sections of the Kālacakra *mūlatantra* were circulating in India during the early spread of this religious stream[10].

In the first chapter of the VP seventy-two verses are quoted from the Kālacakra *mūlatantra* which do not belong to the *Sekoddeśa*, and other verses can also be found among the other chapters of the text; moreover, other verses can be found in Vajrapāṇi's *Lakṣābhidhānoddhṛtalaghutantrapiṇḍārtha-vivaraṇa*, in Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*[11] and in Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda's *Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī*[12]. Nāropā too must have known the *Paramādibuddha* as he quotes some verses from it both in the

[8] On the relationship between the *Kālacakralaghutantra* and its *mūlatantra* see the article by Nihom (1984) which contains some inaccuracies and the relative correction by Newman (1987b: 95).

[9] Cf. among others, the eighteenth century work by Klong rdol Bla ma, *Dus 'khor lo rgyus*: fols. 238-262. On the Kings of Sambhala see Reigle 1986.

[10] Regarding the missing *mūlatantras* among the texts of Vajrayāna literature, not only in the *Kālacakra* context, see Newman 1987b: 98, fn. 27.

[11] These two texts by Vajrapāṇi and by Vajragarbha, together with Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā* form a trilogy, later called by the Tibetans the Bodhisattva Corpus *(Byang chub sems dpa'i 'khor)*, which was introduced in India together with the Kālacakra doctrines. The three texts comment on the abridged *(laghu)* versions of the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra* and *Kālacakra* cycles respectively, presenting similar stylistic and doctrinal features. The *Hevajratantra* and the *Cakrasaṃvara* tantra are interpreted in the light of the new ideas of the *Kālacakra* school.

[12] Cf. Skr.: fol. 1b/3-5; Tib.: Q #2069, p. 137 (fol. 337b). Among the other Indian Kālacakra commentaries where quotations from the *Paramādibuddha* can be found, Newman (1987b: 97, fn. 19) mentions a stanza from the *Paramādibuddha* found in Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* quoted by Snellgrove (1959, part I: 66-68, fn. 2). But it should be noticed that the stanza in question is nothing but the combination of the first verse of stanza 63 and the first verse of stanza 64 of the *Sekoddeśa* itself.

Paramārthasaṃgraha[13], his commentary on the *Sekoddeśa* and in the *Vajrapādasārasaṃgrahapañjikā*, his commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, extant only in Tibetan[14].

From these fragments we can deduce that the *Paramādibuddha* was a late text which reflected the preceding Buddhist Tantric literature of the seventh and eighth centuries as the *Guhyasamājatantra*, the *Hevajratantra*, the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. In addition in Nāropā's *Paramārthasaṃgraha* we find a quotation from the *Paramādibuddha* which corresponds to the initial stanza of the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*[15], a Tantra which according to Bu ston's Tantra Catalogue belongs to the cycle of the *Hevajratantra*[16].

According to the *VP*[17] the *Paramādibuddha* was divided in five chapters: Worldly Realm (*Lokadhātu*), Inner Realm (*Adhyātmadhātu*), Initiation (*Abhiṣeka*), Practice (*Sādhana*) and Gnosis (*Jñāna*). This division is the same as the one we find reproduced in the LKC[18].

As Newman has already remarked[19] it is not easy to determine the exact position of the *Sekoddeśa* within the *Paramādibuddha*. The colophons of the two Tibetan translations allow different interpretations:

The colophon of the first translation (text A)[20] implies that the *Sekoddeśa*, "the treatise on the performance of the initiation into the fifth chapter's supreme immovable (bliss)", was extracted from the first chapter on the Worldly Realm (*'jig rten khams kyi le'ur*), but in the second translation this statement is followed by the word "etc." (*'jig rten khams kyi le'u la sogs pa las*)[21]. In this case the meaning would change and the statement could be interpreted as referring to the entire text of the *Paramādibuddha*, starting from the *lokadhātupaṭala*. I am also, as is Newman, rather inclined to think that the

[13] For references to the Sankrit and Tibetan texts mentioned here and below see the Bibliography. Cf. Nāropā *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, Skr.: 3-4; Tib.: Q #2069, p. 106, fol. 259b.

[14] Cf. Nāropā *Vajrapadasārasaṃgrahapañjikā*, Q #2316, p. 4 (fol. 77b), p. 5 (fols. 80a-b).

[15] *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaramahātantrarājakalpa*, extant only in Tibetan in the translation by Gāyadhara Śākya ye shes: *'Phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje 'gur shes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po* in Q #11.

[16] Cf. Eimer 1989: 68.

[17] See Upadhyaya edition p. 12, translated in Newman 1987a: 245.

[18] In his annotated Tibetan edition of the VP, Bu ston compares the list of topics treated in the *Paramādibuddha*, such as it is presented in the second *Uddeśa* of the VP, with the list of topics in the LKC, whence we can infer that the two treatises diverged in the order of the subject-matter. See Newman 1987b: 96.

[19] Newman 1987b: 96.

[20] See below: 114.

[21] See below: 115.

second Tibetan text is in this case more reliable and that the *Sekoddeśa* could be a section of the fifth chapter of the *Paramādibuddha*. This hypothesis is confirmed in the introductory chapter of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* where he states that the *Sekoddeśa* was extracted from the fifth chapter of the *Mūlatantra (rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi le'u lnga pa las dbang mdor bstan pa 'di phyung ba yin)*[22].

Concerning the *Sekoddeśa* treatise, we know with certainty that in the first half of the eleventh century it was circulating in India as an independent text, because it drew the attention of many important religious figures of that time who wrote commentaries on it. As mentioned above, Nāropā (d. 1040)[23] wrote a long commentary on the *Sekoddeśa*, the *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, which is preserved both in Sanskrit and in its Tibetan translation[24]. Other commentaries still extant in Sanskrit and in Tibetan are a *Ṭippaṇi* by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, a contemporary of Nāropā, and a brief *Pañjikā* by an anonymous author which was translated into Tibetan by Bu ston. Besides, two other commentaries are extant only in their Tibetan translations: the *Ṭīkā* by *Kālacakrapāda[25] mentioned above and a *Ṭippaṇi* by *Vijayāpāda (Rnam par rgyal ba brjed byang).

As regards establishing the date of the spread of the Kālacakra tradition in India, an important indication is found in the LKC (I, 27) and in the VP where mention is made of the end of the sexagenary cycle which falls 403 years after the Hijra (*mlecchendravarṣam*)[26]. In my opinion this year corresponds to A.D. 1026 (the last year of the sexagenary cycle starting in A.D. 967), which in fact falls 403 years after the elapse of A.D. 622 (the Hijra)[27]. In the interpretation of this stanza it is necessary to take into consideration that we are dealing with a prophecy, as is also evident from the preceding stanza (I,

[22] Cf. Kālacakrapāda *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*: Q #2070, p. 148, fol. 4b/1.

[23] On Nāropā's chronology see Wylie 1982 and Newman 1987a: 90, fn. 53.

[24] See the forthcoming translation by Gnoli & Orofino 1994.

[25] I have included this text among the witnesses of the second Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa*, because in this commentary all the 174 stanzas of the *Sekoddeśa* can be found. See below p. 36 ff.

[26] Skr.: 31b/7; Tib. 480/1-482/3. Translated in Newman 1987a: 538-542.

[27] In making this calculation I think it is necessary to adopt the Indian system of reckoning years in which 1026-403=623; but A.D. 623 should be encompassed within the span of 403 years, whereby the "year of the barbarian" mentioned in LKC I, 27 corresponds to A.D. 622. It should be observed that this stanza has been interpreted in another way in the past: in fact assuming that A.D. 1027 (the *prabhava* i.e. first year of the sexagenary cycle) corresponded to the end of the previous sexagenary cycle, many western scholars deduced that in Kālacakra astrology the Hijra had been erroneously calculated as A.D.624 (i.e. 1027-403=624), see Roerich 1949: 753; Schuh 1973: 20; Grönbold 1991: 393. I find it unlikely that the Kālacakra

26). This leads us to infer that the period of composition of this literature in India corresponds to the sexagenary cycle from A.D. 967 to A.D. 1026. Furthermore, in the LKC I, 27 and in the relative comment in the VP we find another important clue to help establish the era (*dhruvaka*) of the Kālacakra chronology: the 182nd year after the Hijra is indicated as the year corresponding to the time of Kalkin Aja, the eleventh Kalkin in the lineage succession. This date is also mentioned in a brief treatise on Kālacakra chronology, the *Kālacakragaṇitopadeśa*[28], which specifies that Kalkin Aja rectified the Kālacakra calender 182 years after the Hijra and that 221 further years elapsed until the end of the sexagenary cycle [A.D.1026]. It also asserts that the *dhruvaka* corresponds to the 19th year of the Jupiter cycle[29], which falls 41 years before the end of the sexagenary cycle. Thus we can assume that the astronomical era of the Kālacakra *laghukaraṇam* corresponds to A.D. 805 of the Gregorian calender[30].

Subsequently, as is well known, the Kālacakra calendric system was

astronomer miscalculated the year of the Hijra; besides it is well known that the question of the Indian current year and expired year frequently gives rise to complications in the process of conversion to western chronology. In another interpretation Newman suggests that according to Muslim astrology, the year 403 should be interpreted as corresponding to A.D. 1012/1013; however I find this hypothesis difficult to substantiate because this date would be meaningless in Kālacakra astrology. Besides, it seems beyond doubt that the authors of the LKC and the VP reckoned the years according to the lunisolar or stabilised sexagenary Jupiter cycle rather than according to the Muslim lunar calendar. Newman however is of the opinion that in any case the year 1012/1013 would not determine the exact year of composition of the LKC which he locates within the first three decades of the eleventh century. Cf. Newman 1987b: 100 fn. 24.

[28] Skr.: *Kālacakrānusārigaṇita,* fol. 1a. The first folio of this manuscript in Sanskrit is badly damaged therefore here I have quoted the Tibetan text: *Rtsis kyi man ngag,* Q #5900 fol. 266b.

[29] "...me [3] mkha' [0] rgya mthso [4] 403 la lag pa [2] gdengs can [8] zla bas [1] phri ba'i lhag ma'i lo 221 yang drug cus phri ba'i lhag ma'i lo 41 dang por lo drug cu'i nang nas lo bcu dgu ma 'das par byas so zhes pa..." cf. *Rtsis kyi man ngag:* Q #5900, fol. 266b/3-4. However it should be noticed that here the Tibetan translator reads *'gate (ma 'das par* in both D and Q Tanjur) instead of the original Sanskrit reading *gate (ekonaviṃśativarṣe gate).*

[30] And not A.D. 806 as asserted by certain scholars (Roerich 1949: 754; Schuh 1973: 100. See also p.104 where the author miscalculates the year of the *dhruvaka,* which he identifies as the twentieth year of the Jupiter cycle). As proof of the fact that the *dhruvaka* corresponds to A.D. 805 we can use the Teliṅga rule of conversion from the Indian to the Gregorian calendar, in fact it has been demonstrated that the Kālacakra tradition adopted the sixty-year Jupiter cycle following the South Indian Teliṅga (Telugu) calculation. The Teliṅga rule runs as follow: "To the *expired* kaliyuga year (Christian year+3102-1) add 13, divide by 60; the remainder gives the number of the current year of the Jupiter cycle, counting from *Prabhava*". (cf. Vogel 1964: 234, fn. 30) i.e.= 805+3102-1+13=3919: 60=65 (reminder *19*).

introduced in Tibet in the successive sexagenary cycle by Gyi jo Lo tsā va, the first Tibetan translator of the Kālacakra texts, active in the first half of the eleventh century, and later systematized by Atiśa in 1051.

Tibetan historiographical literature furnishes some information on the history of the early phase of the Kālacakra tradition. One of our main sources is Bu ston Rin po che 's *Rgyud sde'i zab don sgo 'byed rin chen gces pa'i lde mig*[31] where we find the traditional account of the beginning of the Kālacakra school as handed down in the two different lines of transmission of this system in Tibet:

(1) The Rwa tradition, which originated with the Tibetan translator Rwa Chos rab, author with Paṇḍit Samantaśrī of the second translation of the *Sekoddeśa* and

(2) the 'Bro tradition, which was initiated by Dge slong Shes rab grags, author, as mentioned above, together with Somanātha, of the first translation of the *Sekoddeśa* and of several other translations of texts of the Kālacakra tradition.

Although Bu ston Rin po che wrote this account in the second decade of the fourteenth century he was certainly referring to oral traditions which date back to the beginning of the school.

Other information can be found in later works: the *Dus 'khor ṭik chen*, written in 1434 by Mkhas grub rje[32]; the *Blue Annals* written by 'Gos gzhon nu dpal in 1478[33]; the treatise on the history of the *Kālacakra* written by Tāranātha (b. 1575)[34]. They all agree in the division into two lines of the tradition. Because the two extant Tibetan translations of the *Sekoddeśa* correspond to these two traditions I will give here a synthesis of the account of the two lineages as given by Bu ston.

According to the Rwa tradition the Bodhisattva Corpus[35] appeared in India during the simultaneous reigns of three kings: Dehapāla in the East, Jaugaṅgapa in the South and Kanauj in the West[36]. At that time the Paṇḍit Ci

[31] In Bu ston *Dus 'khor chos 'byung*: fols. 56-61 For a partial translation see Newman 1987a: 75 ff.

[32] Mkhas grub rje *Dus 'khor ṭik chen*: fols. 97 ff. Some parts of this account were translated in Roerich 1932.

[33] 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fols. 661-673. Transl. Roerich 1949: 753-766.

[34] Cf. Tāranātha *Dus 'khor chos bskor*: fols. 6 ff.

[35] See *supra* fn. 11.

[36] As observed by Newman (1987a: 77), Dehapāla is the only one among the three who can be identified as he might correspond to Devapāla, the Pāla king who reigned in the first half of the ninth century; but this information is of no help as far as establishing chronology is concerned.

lu[37] was born in Orissa. He studied Buddhism at the Ratnagiri vihāra (in Cuttak district, Orissa), at Vikramaśilā (possibly in Bihar) and at Nālandā (in Bihar), distinguishing himself in Buddhist studies. He became convinced of the importance of the Vajrayāna teachings and in particular of the method set out in the Bodhisattva Corpus. He then decided to set off in search of those teachings which were known to be extant in the land of Sambhala. But on his way to Sambhala he met an emanation of Mañjuśrī who conferred on him all the initiations and teachings of the Bodhisattva Corpus. Later he resided in Kaṭaka (in Orissa) where he transmitted those teachings to Piḍo or Piṇḍi Acārya[38], born in Bengal. The latter transmitted the Bodhisattva Corpus to *Kālacakrapāda the Elder, who was born in Varendra (Northern Bengal). The latter in turn transmitted the teachings to many disciples, among whom there was *Kālacakrapāda the Younger. *Kālacakrapāda the Younger became a prominent figure in the promulgation of these teachings at Nālandā. He had several disciples including Mañjukīrti, the Kashmiri Paṇḍit Somanātha and others. Later Paṇḍit Samantaśrī of Ye rang heard the Kālacakra docrines and in particular followed Mañjukīrti.

According to the 'Bro tradition the Kālacakra school was introduced in India at the time of Kalkin Śrīpāla[39]. In that period a young yogin came to know that in the south[40] the Bodhisattvas in person taught the dharma so he went to listen to them, but Kalkin Śrīpāla, understanding the young man's pure motivation and aware that the long journey would have been dangerous for his life, met him as an emanation body at the edge of the desert and initiated the young yogin into the doctrines of the *Anuttaratantra* and into the *Bodhisattva Corpus*. On his return he became renowned as an emanation of Mañjuśrī and was called *Kālacakrapāda. *Kālacakrapāda became a famous master. He transmitted the lineage to many disciples including Nālendrapā, who was also called *Kālacakrapāda the Younger[41]. The latter transmitted the tradition to Somanātha, the son of a Kashmiri Brahmin and of a Buddhist lady who had

[37] Tib. Tsi lu (cf. Bu ston ston *Dus 'khor chos 'byung*: fol. 56/5).

[38] Below in his account Bu ston refers to this name as Piṇḍa Ācārya (fol. 58/2).

[39] The seventeenth in the Kalkin succession according to the VP I, 3 (see Reigle, 1986: 10).

[40] Bu ston's account has *lo phyogs* (cf. fol. 59/7) while Mkhas grub (*Dus 'khor ṭik chen*: fol. 171/4) reads *byang phyogs*, but as Newman has pointed out the term *"lo phyogs"* does not seem to be an error by Bu ston. Cf. Newman 1987a: 85, see also below fn. 49.

[41] Mkhas grub relates that in some accounts it is handed down that *Kālacakrapāda the Younger and Nalendrapā were master and disciple cf. *Dus 'khor ṭik chen*: fol. 172/6.

become the disciple of the Kashmiri Paṇḍit *Brāhmaṇapāda[42]. Somanātha had been sent to Magadha by Brāhmaṇapāda after he had received the *Sekoddeśa* and a commentary on the *Sekaprakriyā*[43], sent to him by 'Dul ba blo gros (*Vinayākaramati), a disciple of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder. In Magadha Somanātha met both *Kālacakrapāda the Elder and *Kālacakrapāda the Younger and received the instructions on the Doctrines of the Bodhisattva Corpus. Later on Somanātha went to Tibet where he transmitted the Kālacakra teachings, which were then spread in the Land of Snow.

We can schematize the two lineages as follows[44]:

Rwa Tradition	*'Bro Tradition*
An Emantion of Mañjuśrī	
Cilu	
Piṇḍo	Kalkin Śrīpāla
*Kālacakrapāda the Elder	*Kālacakrapāda the Elder
*Kālacakrapāda the Younger (Nālendrapā)	Nālendrapāda (*Kālacakrapāda the Younger)
Mañjukīrti	Somanātha
Samantaśrībhadra	'Bro Shes rab grags
Rwa Chos rab	

Cilu, the first person named in the Rwa lineage is not very easily identifiable. It should be noted, however, that in the Tanjur there are two works

[42] In the Blue Annals his name is reported as Bram je zhabs bzang po (*Brāhmaṇapādabhadra) or Sūryaketu ('Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fol. 666). Roerich (1949: 758) translates it: "an excellent brahmaṇa scholar named Bzang po or Sūryaketu".

[43] This text on the Kālacakra initiation rites is no longer extant in Sanskrit. On its Tibetan translations see below fn.114 The commentary mentioned by Bu ston and Mkhas grub is probably Dārikā's *Śrī Kālacakratantrarājasekaprakriyā*, Q #2072.

[44] The same schema is reproduced in Newman 1985: 71, and 1987a: 94.

attributed to him: the *Ṣaḍaṅgayogopadeśa*[45] and the *Ratnavṛkṣanāmarahasyasamājavṛtti* a commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*[46].

The second person, Piṇḍo, could be identified, as Newman also suggests, with the yogin *Piṇḍo (Bsod nyoms pa), the itinerant monk from Yavadvīpa (Java) indicated by the famous Bengali master Atiśa in his *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* as his teacher of the Great *Ādibuddhatantra*[47]. This hypothesis would correspond with the colophon to the *Kālacakragarbhālaṃkārasādhana*, which cites the author as the Brāhman Bsod snyoms pa (* *Piṇḍo)*, born in the land of the southern ocean[48]. Besides, analysing a statement found in a prayer of the 'Bro tradition recorded by Bu ston, which invokes "Kalkin Śrīpāla at the end of the southern ocean"[49], Newman concludes that the 'Bro tradition considered Kalkin Śrīpāla another name for Piṇḍo. Furthermore, in his analysis of Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's colophon to the Tibetan translation of Puṇḍarika's *Kālacakratantragarbhavṛttivimalaprabhā*, which states that after having gone to Sambhala Piṇḍo introduced the Kālacakra doctrines into India where he taught them to Nāropā, the American scholar suggests shortening the chain by one link, advancing the hypothesis that *Kālacakrapāda the Elder is another name for Piṇḍo/Kalki Śrīpāla[50].

Albeit these hypotheses deserve our full attention, the current state of research does not allow us to reach any final conclusion concerning the identity of these personages. Indubitably Kalkin Śrīpāla (the seventeenth in

[45] Q #2090, D 1374. This text was translated in Tibetan by Rwa Chos rab and Samantaśrī.

[46] Q #2709, D 1846.

[47] We should notice that in his *Bodhimārgadipapañjikā* Atiśa mentions his master, the Bhikṣu Bsod nyoms pa from Yavadvīpa as the originator of a moral reformation of monastic discipline and of the behaviour of tantric practitioners, and ascribes to him the rule prohibiting monks from taking the higher initiations of the *guhyābhiṣeka* and the *prajñābhiṣeka* of the Great *Ādibuddhatantra*, which include sexual union. Cf. Ruegg 1981: 212-226. This statement from Atiśa's text could be very important for understanding some of the differences between the two Tibetan translations of the *Sekoddeśa*. See below fn. 118.

[48] This colophon has already been noticed by Ruegg (1981: 219). Nevertheless Ruegg does not think that Bhikṣu Paiṇḍapātika, master of Atiśa and author of the *Śrīkālacakragarbhālaṃkārasādhana*, can be identified with Piṇḍo or Piṭo Ācārya the teacher of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder (Ruegg 1984:274).

[49] Furthermore it has to be noticed, as mentioned above see fn. 40 that in Bu ston's account of the 'Bro tradition states that *Kālacakrapada the Elder set off southwards in search of the doctrines.

[50] Cf. Newman 1987a: 97-104.

the Kalkin lineage) is a title, but the data we have at the moment are not sufficient to enable us to be sure it conceals the name of Piṇḍo, just as we cannot be certain that Kālacakrapāda the Elder corresponds to the name of the founder of this school and can thus be identified with Kalkin Śrīpāla and/or Piṇḍo.

We arrive thus at *Kālacakrapāda the Younger in the Rwa tradition, corresponding to Nālendrapāda in the 'Bro tradition. According to the eighteenth century Tibetan scholar Padma dkar po[51] this figure should be identified as Nāropā who was, as is well-known, expert in the Kālacakra doctrines. As we have seen above, Nāropā is the author of one of the most important commentaries to the *Sekoddeśa*, the *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, and was one of the most famous vajrācāryas of Nālandā monastic university where he held the office of abbot for eight years. This statement would also accord, as Newman notes, with Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's above mentioned colophon to Puṇḍarika's *Kālacakratantragarbhavṛttivimalaprabhā*[52] which asserts that: "The one called Nāro, a brahman by caste, born in the land of Uḍḍiyāna, was the successor of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder"[53].

The lineages of transmission of the doctrine, which we have found united in the personages of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder and *Kālacakrapāda the Younger or Nālendrapāda, then divides again in the successive lineage holders, the Kashmiri Paṇḍit Somanātha and the Nepalese Paṇḍit Samantaśrībhadra.

Our Tibetan sources recount that Somanātha was one of the disciples of the Kashmiri scholar *Brāhmāṇapāda or Sūryaketu in the middle of the eleventh century[54]. They also inform us that the Kālacakra literature was unknown in Kashmir at that time as, besides Bu ston, both Mkhas grub and 'Gos Lo tsā ba[55] report that it was then that the *Sekoddeśa* and a commentary

[51] Cf. Padma dkarpo, *'Brug pa'i chos 'byung*: fol. 221/4-5.

[52] Cf. Q #4608: 293/1/7-8.

[53] See Newman 1987a: 103.

[54] Cf. also 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fol. 666; Roerich 1949: 758 and Nadou 1968: 161-162. As Newman refers (1987a: 92) in the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* we find the date 1064 A.D. (*shing 'brug lo)* for Somanātha's arrival in Tibet. The compilers of the chronological table in the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* do not give any reference for this information which probably was taken from *Deb gter sngon po:* fol. 66 (Roerich 1949: 72). In *Deb gter sngon po:* fol. 663 (Roerich 1949: 755) we find also the information that Somanātha visited Tibet during the second half of Gra pa mngon shes' s life (1012-1090).

[55] Mkhas grub rje *Dus 'khor ṭik chen*: fol. 173; 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fol. 665 (Roerich 1949:758).

to the *Sekaprakriyā* (or the *Sekaprakriyā* itself in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's account) were first introduced into that country when *Vinayākaramati sent these texts to Sūryaketu. The Kashmiri master then showed them to his disciples, Paṇḍit Sonasati, Lakṣmīkara, Dānaśrī, Candrarāhula, Somanātha and others. Somanātha was filled with wonder when he saw the new doctrines and decided to set off in search of those teachings. He went to Madhyadeśa where he met *Kālacakrapāda the Younger, becoming his disciple. He then proceeded to Tibet as he wanted to spread the teachings there. 'Gos Lo tsā ba tells us that in Tibet he was received with particular munificence by certain benefactors, notably Dge bshes Lce ba and his son from Bzang yul in G.yor po. Another eminent benefactor of Somanātha was the Dge bshes of 'Phan yul Dkon mchog bsrung. As well-known Somanātha, together with the Tibetan Lo tsā va 'Bro Shes rab, was the the translator of several texts of the Kālacakra tradition preserved in the Tibetan canon[56].

The other line of transmission of the Kālacakra system in Tibet can be traced back to Paṇḍit Samantaśrī, born in Ye rang (Patan in Nepal)[57], disciple of Mañjukīrti, and the Tibetan translator Rwa Chos rab, who together translated other texts of the Kālacakra tradition besides the *Sekoddeśa*. Rwa Chos rab was the nephew of the famous Tibetan translator Rwa Lo tsā ba Rdo rje grags, a very important figure in the history of the second propagation of the Buddhist Tantra in Tibet who lived during the last decades of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh[58].

However the names of other Indian yogins connected with the transmission lineages by Bu ston have come down to us: their works are preserved in the Tibetan Tanjurs and constitute very important material for the study of the religious tradition of the *Kālacakratantra*. Among the most eminent are: Dārika, Anupamarakṣita and Sadhuputra Śrīdharānandā, who can be dated at the beginning of the eleventh century or even earlier. To the second half of the same century and the beginning of the twelfth belong the works by Abhayākaragupta and Raviśrījñāna. At the end of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth Śākyaśrībhadra (1127-1225) and Vibhūticandra undertook to spread the Kālacakra doctrines in India and Tibet. Notwithstanding the downfall of Tantric Buddhism in Eastern India consequent on the Turkish

[56] Cf. Nadou 1968: 162 for a list of these.

[57] The Newar name of Patan is Ye la, reproduced by the Tibetans as Ye rang. See Snellgrove 1987: 365, fn. 14.

[58] Cf. 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fols. 331-334; (Roerich 1949: 374-378).

invasions of Maghada and Bengal at the beginning of the thirteenth century, we are informed that the Kālacakra doctrines were still practised and studied in India until the fifteenth century[59]. As reported by 'Gos gzhon nu dpal, the Indian Paṇḍit Vanaratna (1384-1468) from Bengal, who had received the Buddhist teachings from the Buddhist Paṇḍits *Buddhaghoṣa (Sangs rgyas dbyangs) and Sujātaratna, was expert in the practice of the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* according to the system of Anupamarakṣita and in the Kālacakra methods. He was the last Indian Paṇḍit (*Paṇḍita mtha' ma)* to teach in Tibet, which he visited several times from 1426[60].

In brief, analysing the historical data referred to above concerning the origin of this religious system, it would appear to consist in a movement that spread in certain regions in east and north India during the sexagenary cycle preceding A.D. 1027[61]. Incidentally, the hypothesis that these doctrines originated in Central Asia, principally formulated by Hoffmann[62], has now been proved groundless by Newman[63].

However, it has not yet proved possible to define precisely where in India the authors of the first treatises lived. According to the accounts we have just analysed, the first personages who are identifiable historically lived and operated in Orissa, in Bengal, in Bihar, and shortly afterwards, in the Himalayan regions of Kashmir and Nepal. After all, these are the very places where the development of the medieval phase of Indian Buddhism generally took place. It is also worth noting that at the beginning of the lineage of transmission mention is made of the yogin Piṇḍo, who, as we saw above may correspond to Kalkin Śrīpāla and who should also be linked with the master of Atiśa, who came from Java. However this is hardly surprisingly as we know that during the ninth century under the Pāla kings the ties between the Buddhist communities in eastern India and those of south-east Asia were strengthened. We have documents attesting that during that period a king of

[59] See Tucci 1931: 690-691, Newman: 1987a: 112.

[60] Cf. 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fols. 701-708; (Roerich 1949: 797-805). Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya: 440.

[61] This hypothesis would correspond with the information found in Tāranātha's *Dgos 'dod kun 'byung* where it is stated that Piṇḍo introduced the Kālacakra in Tibet at the time of king Mahipāla (977-1027). (Transl. in Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 289).

[62] Actually, Hoffmann considered this as fact rather than as hypothesis: see Hoffmann, 1951; 1956:41, 118-125 and *passim*; 1960: 98-99; 1964; 1976a: 406; 1969: 58-59, 67; 1975: 142. As Newman pointed out (Newman 1987a: 152) this induced many later scholar to accept Hoffmann's opinion as a matter of fact.

[63] Newman 1987a: 148-172; 603-614.

Sumatra requested the Pāla King's permission to endow a monastery at Nālandā[64]. Another factor worthy of note is the appearance of the name of Mahīpāla as the 16th Kalkin in the list of the VP preceding the name of Śrīpāla. As suggested by Newman[65] this could be interpreted as a tribute to the monarch reigning in eastern India at the time the Kālacakra was introduced, and could furnish further evidence for locating the first phase of this school in east India.

However other element might suggest on the contrary that the movement originated in north-west India. Above all, the descriptions found in the *Lokadhātupaṭala* of the LKC and of the VP, the mention of the Hijra as chronological reference point (I, 27), the descriptions of various kinds of *svarodaya*, sorts of rituals to summon military victory, and of military devices such as siege machines and other types of weapons (I, 128-149), the reference to the final conflict between the *Cakravartin* and the barbarians at the end of the age which clearly designates the imminent danger of foreign enemy forces, the list of the prophets of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic traditions (I,154) and the detailed description of the customs of the *Mleccha* (I,155), are all factors which might imply that the early exponents of the Kālacakra tradition lived in an Indian region around the turn of the tenth century when the *Mleccha* were well-known and the threat of military conflict deeply felt. This would appear to correspond exactly to the north-western area, as it is well-known that in the first decades of the eleventh century those regions were frequently raided by Mahmud of Ghazni.

Nevertheless we cannot yet ascertain definitively the exact geographical collocation of the originators of the *Kālacakra* literature, not least because the authors under discussion were wandering yogins and at the time contacts between the eastern and northern regions of India were anything but rare.

[64] Cf. Tapar 1966: 223.
[65] Newman 1987a: 102.

II. The Textual Transmission of the Tibetan Translation

1. *The 'Bro Tradition*

The translation of the *Sekoddeśa* by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab[66] is preserved in all the versions of the Tibetan Kanjur which, according to the most recent studies, stem from a collection of manuscripts that were gathered between the first and second decades of the fourteenth century in the Bka' gdams pa monastery of Snar thang.

At this point it is necessary to summarise briefly the current state of research on the Tibetan canon in order to present the witnesses I have used in the critical edition of the texts[67].

a. The Tibetan Canon

Tibetan historiographical sources refer that the first Snar thang compilation was followed by a revision of the entire manuscript Kanjur in Tshal pa Gung thang monastery under the direction of Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje, alias Si tu dge ba'i blo gros (1309-1364)[68]. This revision took place thirty or forty years after the first compilation, as it is known that in the year 1351 Bu ston Rin chen grub visited Tshal Gung thang where he consecrated a copy of the Kanjur[69]. The extent of the revision by Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje is not yet known, but it seems to have been a thorough one. The Tshal pa version of the Kanjur was very widespread in Tibet and is considered the prototype of the "Eastern Tradition" of the Kanjur.

On the other hand, other copies of the first manuscript of Snar thang were made in some sites in western Tibet. The most famous of these is the *Them spangs ma* which was frequently reproduced. Some copies of this MS have been found outside Tibet and form the group called the "Western Tradition".

[66] The colophons of the different Kanjur versions of this text state that the translation by Somanātha and 'Bro shes rab underwent revision by Rin chen Rgyal mtshan on the basis of the commentary by Nāropā.

[67] For a more detailed description of the state of Kanjur studies see Eimer 1992.

[68] Cf. Eimer 1988a: 67.

[69] See Ruegg 1966: 134, and Eimer 1983b: 59-60, fn. 4.

b. The Eastern Tradition of the Kanjur

In 1410, during the Yongle dynasty, the first xylograph edition of the Kanjur was printed in Peking based on the Tshal pa manuscript. It was printed in cinnabar ink; copies of this print are still extant, but not available[70]. Other editions were printed from the Yongle blocks: one issue was the Wanli impression of 1606 in black ink; there is no confirmation whether this issue is extant[71]. In 1684-92, more than 250 years after the first wood blocks, the new Kangxi impression was made using as masters the reproduction of the earlier blocks that had been impressed with a glue process in newly prepared wood planks. In this way the new set of blocks contained the specular image of the old blocks, except for some minor corrections and for small mistakes due to re-inking or misinterpretation of the extant letters. The result of this procedure is what Eimer calls the "technical identity"[72] of the earlier copies and the second set. From this set the subsequent issues of 1700, of 1717-20 (which was corrected using as source the Lithang Kanjur[73]), the Qianlong impression of 1737 and at least one other impression after 1765 were made[74]. Some other manuscript copies were also made, among which the so-called Berlin manuscript[75].

Parallel to the Peking editions, a revised edition was prepared between 1609 and 1614 in 'Jang Sa tham in eastern Tibet, based on a version of the Tshal pa manuscript which had been preserved at 'Phying ba Stag rtse Castle situated to the south of Lhasa, in 'Phyong rgyas[76]. The wood blocks of this edition were transferred to Lithang Monastery by the end of the seventeenth

[70] See Eimer 1988a: 69 and Eimer 1992: xxxiv.

[71] In a private communication (April 1994) Dr Eimer informed me that volumes of the 1606 issue existed before the earthquake in the twenties of this century in Japan and before the 2nd war in Berlin, while another copy was seen by a Japanese scholar at around 1940 at the Wu tai shan in China.

[72] See Eimer 1988a: 69.

[73] See Eimer 1988b: 45. Dr Eimer confirmed this information in a private communication (March 1994).

[74] The Japanese reprint by the Suzuki Foundation of the so-called "Peking Edition" is a reprint of the 1717-20 impression preserved in the Otani University with gaps filled from the 1737 print preserved in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. See Imaeda, 1977: 32, n. 33. See also Harrison, 1992b: xvii.

[75] This manuscript was catalogued by Beckh in 1914. See also Haarh 1954.

[76] See Imaeda 1982-84 and Samten 1987.

century where they remained until they were burnt by the Chinese in 1908[77]. Its contents are more heavily edited than those of the various re-editions of the Peking Kanjur[78].

The Lithang impression was the base text for the Cone (1721-1733) and Derge (1729-1733) xylographic editions. The Cone edition can be considered a true copy of the Lithang edition[79], while the Sde dge (Derge) edition was checked against other Kanjurs including the inaccessible Kanjur of A gñen Pakśi and the Lho rdzong Kanjur[80]. The Lho rdzong Kanjur was compiled by Sde srid bsod nams rab brtan, *alias* Bsod nam chos 'phel (1595-1658) at the Thang po che gtsug lag khang and was based, as we shall see below, on the Rgyal tse Them spangs ma[81], so it presents some contaminations from the Western Tradition. From the Derge edition stem the more recent Kanjur editions: those of Ra rgya (1814-1820), of Urga (1908-1910) and of Wara (twentieth century)[82].

c. The Western Tradition of the Kanjur

As mentioned above, other copies were most probably made from the old original version of the Snar thang Kanjur which, however, underwent less editorial revision than the Tshal pa Kanjur. The Them spangs ma manuscript is the most famous of them. It was copied in 1431 by order of the ruler of Rgyal tse, Rab rtan kun bzang 'phags pa and deposited as an exemplar in the Dpal 'khor chos sde[83]. It was subsequently frequently copied; we know that during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) alone, over a hundred copies were reproduced from the Them spangs ma copy[84]. One of these is the Lho dzong manuscript mentioned above, which was used to revise the Derge edition. Another copy was presented by the Fifth Dalai Lama to the first Rje btsun dam pa Khutuktu Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1635-1723) and

[77] The only copy of this Kanjur outside Tibet is preserved in the Rnying ma pa monastery in Orissa. It has been microfilmed by Naritasan Shishojin Temple in Japan and also by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. Samten 1987: 20.

[78] See Eimer 1988b: 51.

[79] See Eimer 1980: 196; 1983b: I, 118-119 and 1988b: 47-50.

[80] See Eimer 1983a : 20.

[81] See Samten 1987: 18,19.

[82] See Eimer 1992: xiv-xv.

[83] See Eimer 1983a: 45 and Eimer 1988a: 68.

[84] Harrison 1992a: xviii.

is kept in Ulan Bator State Library[85]. A much later copy of the Them spangs ma (and probably not a direct copy) was made during the years 1858-1878 and kept at Gyantse until 1915 when, during his second visit to Tibet, the Japanese Buddhist monk Kawaguchi Ekai received it from the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and took it to Japan. It is now preserved in the Toyo Bunko Library in Tokyo[86]. Also belonging to the Western Tradition is the so-called London manuscript prepared at Shel skar rdzong (according to recent research, in 1712)[87] and presented in 1906 by the Government of India to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts of the British Library[88].

The Snar thang xylograph prepared in 1730-1732 shows anomalous features, because while it follows the Tshal pa model in the division of the texts and in some parts sides with the Eastern Tradition, a large part of the literature preserved in it sides with the Western Tradition in consequence of its having been based on the Kanjur preserved at Shel dkar rdzong[89]. From this Kanjur stems the Lhasa Kanjur (1943), which was based on the Snar thang edition with some readings from the Derge edition.

In addition there is the Stog Palace manuscript Kanjur, kept in the royal Palace of Stog in Ladak and recently reprinted[90]. This manuscript was probably copied from a Bhutanese original stemming from the Them spangs ma during the first half of the eighteenth century[91].

d. Methodological Considerations

In the study of the Kanjur texts it is very important to take into consideration the historical and social factors that determined the production of the various editions.

One important aspect to be considered is that the first manuscript editions of the Kanjur were made, as we have seen above, in the first half of the fourteenth century on the basis of the raw collections of manuscripts which had previously been gathered between the first and the second decades of the

[85] See Bethlenfalvy 1982.
[86] See Saito 1973: 405- 401.
[87] Harrison 1992a: xviii, fn. 29.
[88] See Grinstead 1967.
[89] See Eimer 1992: xv.
[90] *The Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur* (Leh: Shes rig Dpe mdzod, 1975-1980).
[91] Skorupski 1985: xii.

same century at the monastery of Snar thang. These were texts that had already undergone a great number of revisions and emendations over the preceding five hundred years, a period that, as is well-known, is one of the most obscure and tormented in Tibetan history.

Another important aspect to be taken into account, as Eimer has remarked[92], is that the introduction into Tibet of printing led to the fact that, as it was a very expensive procedure, whenever it was decided to make a new Kanjur edition the attempt was made to make an excellent version collating various manuscript copies that often came from different places.

Besides, as the number of the texts collected in the various Kanjurs is very large (it goes from Kanjurs of 760 titles to others which collect 1110 titles), and as they belong to different philosophical and religious traditions, it is important to consider the history of each individual text. In some cases, such as the Snar thang xylograph, different sections of texts preserved in the same Kanjur follow different stemmatic traditions.

In our case, as in the textual analysis of other Oriental literature (such as many Sanskrit texts), is not possible to reconstruct the "archetype", the "original version". It has now been demonstrated that a large part of the Kanjur texts have to be considered "open recensions", using a term first coined by the Italian philologist Giorgio Pasquali[93], since often the different editions follow horizontal (or contaminated) traditions rather than vertical ones[94].

e. The Sources

When I was collecting all the witnesses for the critical edition of the Tibetan texts of the *Sekoddeśa* I had the good fortune to meet Dr Geza Bethlenfalvy, author of the publication of the *Hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal rtse them spangs ma* (1982). He had a xerox copy of the *Sekoddeśa* text taken from that Kanjur while he was working in Ulan Bator on the preparation of his hand-list. He very kindly agreed to give it to me so that I could collate this text with the others. This is the first time that a text from the Ulan Bator manuscript has been analysed and collated with the

[92] See Eimer 1992: x-xiii.

[93] Pasquali 1934: 126.

[94] On the problem of closed and open recensions see also West 1973: 31-47. On this aspect of the Kanjur traditions see Harrison 1992a: 88; 1992 b: xlvii; Eimer 1992: x-xiii.

other Kanjur witnesses.

The other versions that I deemed necessary in order to establish a critical edition are listed below with the corresponding sigla that I used in the critical apparatus. I did not use those available witnesses of the Kanjur which have proved to be copies or derivatives of the principal ones (i.e. the Berlin MS, the Cone, Rargya, Urga, Wara and Lhasa editions).

D: The Sde dge Mtshal pa Kanjur, Rgyud, (Repr. Karmapa, Delhi, 1977) Ka 14a/1-21a/6;

J: 'Jang Sa tham or Lithang Kanjur, Rgyud, Ka 15a/1-24a/4;

L: Manuscript Kanjur in the British Library, London, Rgyud, Ka 1a/1-12b/3;

N: Snar thang Kanjur, Rgyud, Ka 18b/1-28b/3;

Q: Peking [Qianlong] Rgyud Ka 16a/1-22a/8 (The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition, Vol. 1, #3, pp. 124-127);

S: Stog Palace Manuscript Kanjur, Rgyud, Nga, 60b/5-70b/6;

T: Kawaguchi Collection Manuscript Kanjur in the ToyoBunko, Tokyo: Rgyud, Ka 1b/1-12a/6;

U: Them spangs ma Manuscript Kanjur in the Ulan Bator State Library, Rgyud, Ka 1a/1-11b/3.

f. Stemmatic Relationships

Collating these witnesses I too came to the same conclusion drawn by previous research regarding the existence of two separate lines of the Kanjur tradition: a "Western" (LNTU) and an "Eastern" one (DJQ), while S proved to be a cross-contaminated recension.

Because in this case we can establish the text with a high degree of certainty, we can easily prove that, at least in the case of the *Sekoddeśa* the "Eastern" Tshal pa Tradition preserves the original text, while several errors have been found in the Western recension[95].

Some examples of the false readings of the Western witnesses are listed below:

[95] My results contrast with other Kanjur MSS textual analysis results which maintain that the Western MSS tradition tend to transmit the better text. Cf. Eimer 1983b: I, 123-125, Harrison 1992a: 90, 1992b: xliv- xlvi.

The Sanskrit title is incorrectly transcribed *Ṣa ko ta da sha* in LNSTU.
In stanza 36 (d) in the translation of *jñānadhātukajātiṣu* LNU read *ye shes khams kyi ri rnams la* (where *ri* probably stands for *rigs),* while T reads *ye shes khams rnams skyes pa la* agreeing with S and DJQ, but with some minor differences (S: *ye shes khams rnams skyes rnams la;* DJQ: *ye shes khams rnams skyed rnams la*).
In stanza 50 (a) to translate *nābhi* LNU read *zla ba* against *lte ba* of DJQST. Here S and T agree with the Eastern reading.
In stanza 97 (b) LNTU read *mi 'gyur ba'i yang mi 'gyur,* against *mi 'gyur ba'i yang mi 'gyur med* of DJQS, in accordance with the required meaning (**akṣaraṇaṃ nākṣarasya ca,* or something like so). Here S reads with the Eastern tradition.
In stanza 99 (c) LNU read *mi g.yo ba med* against *mi g.yo ba dang* of DJQST. In this case the repetition of the negative is without any doubt an error. It should be noted that here too T and S read with the Eastern group.
In stanza152 (c) LNU read *shes rab rgyu las byung skyes phyir* against *shes rab rgyu las ma skyes phyir* of DJQST. Here too S and T read with the Eastern tradition.
In stanza 173 (a) LNSTU read *lus ngag gsang ba (*for the Sanskrit *kāyaguhya)* against *lus dang gsang ba* of DJQ.

Other variants have been found in the Western witnesses, however of trivial nature, as they merely offend against grammar. Nevertheless they demonstrate the validity and the necessity of the Tshal pa revision.

At the same time, however, we have to observe that the Western tradition contains some archaic peculiarities in letter combinations such as: *rgyud tu (for rgyud du); zhig du (for zhig tu); zhes* when standard usage prescribes *ces;* or, on the contrary, *ces* for *zhes.*

Furthermore in the London manuscript we find a large number of both *bsdus yig* and *bskungs yig,* the graphical devices used in Tibetan script to make the process of writing faster and simpler[96]. These graphic devices occur more frequently in all kinds of cursive writings but do not conform to the standard rules for the compilation of a Kanjur text, therefore they might give some indication of the antiquity of the MS[97]. These abbreviations can be classified in two different kinds[98]:

[96] See Bacot 1912: 8-11

[97] As Dr Eimer told to me in a private communication (January 1994) these graphical devices need our attention, albeit at the moment we cannot use them as arguments for dating. It is noteworthy that in this case, a part from very few cases in the Snar thang edition, the London manuscript is the only text where they have been found.

[98] Eimer 1983: Vol. I, 146-150.

1) *bsdus yig:* a simple device, which consists in the elimination of a consonant in cases where the final consonant is the same as the first consonant of the following syllable, and

2) *bskungs yig,* a more complex case of contractions where two or three different syllables are dropped from a word, forming a single syllable.

Some examples of these two cases, as they appear in the text, are as follows:

> 1) *yongsu (yongs su), gzhonu (gzhon nu), dusu (dus su), gtumo (gtum mo), mkha'gro (mkha' 'gro), brjodus (brjod dus), dbusu (dbus su), dbyugus (dbyug gus), namkha' (nam mka'), dago (for dag go), gcigo (gcig go), 'gago ('gag go), spyodo (spyod do).*
>
> 2) *sed' (se[ms]d [pa]'), seṃn (se[ms ca]n), taṃd (tha[ms ca]d), dkyor (dky[il 'kh]or), ralri (ral [g]ri), sangyas (sang[s rg]yas), snogs (sn[a tsh]ogs).*

The first fact that emerges is the very close agreement among the Ulan Bator MS, the London MS and Snar thang edition. As their readings agree invariably in each case, they must stem directly from the same manuscript.

As we know that U is a copy of the Rgyal rtse Them spangs ma, we have here evident proof that the version of the *Sekoddeśa* preserved in the London MS and in the Snar thang edition are direct copies of it[99].

Besides, as the Tokyo manuscript is considered a later copy (A.D. 1858-1878) of the Rgyal rtse Them spangs ma we would expect the same strict agreement between U and T; however, as we have seen above, on the contrary, in the majority of significant errors (st. 36, 50, 99, 152) T agrees with DJQS against LNU. Some other minor variants are found, of trivial nature, e.g. grammatical emendations, standardisation etc. as reported in the critical apparatus. It is possible that all the variations found in T may be due to a later revision of the text by a learned Tibetan scribe who probably emended it on the basis of other sources, commentaries etc. Another possibility is that T stems from a different copy of the old Snar thang manuscript which preserved a less corrupted version than that from which LN U stem. Unfortunately at this point of research, until other Kanjur texts are collated with the Ulan Bator MS, we cannot draw any conclusions.

[99] In one of his recent personal communications (January 1994) Dr Eimer informed me that the conclusion I draw in this matter is confirmed by a hitherto unpublished study by Peter Skilling where he presents the final proof that the London MS belongs to the Them spangs ma group.

We now turn to the analysis of the position of the Stog Palace Kanjur.

S shares several readings with the Western tradition LNTU, such as in the title and in several other cases of trivial nature such as grammatical variances (see st. 99, 100, 168 etc.). Moreover, in stanza 7 (b) S reads with LNTU *le'u lngar ni 'dod rnams kyis* for the Sanskrit *paṭalaiḥ pañcabhiḥ mataiḥ* against *le'u lnga yi gzhung rnams kyis* of DJQ[100].

However in all the cases of indicative errors which distinguish the Western from the Eastern recension, as we have seen above S reads with the Eastern group. Besides, S reads with the Eastern tradition DJQ in several other cases, but many of these shared readings are of trivial nature and might be attributed to scribal emendations, rather than deliberate editorial changes given to transmissional variations.

I give some examples here:

In stanza 14 (c) S reads with DJQ *ni* against *yin* of LNTU.
In stanza 15 (b) S shares the reading *rjod* with DQS against *brjod* of LNTU while in 15 (d) S shares the same reading with DQ against *brjod* of JLNTU.
In stanza 19 (a) S reads *spros* with DJQ (for the Sanskrit *āspālāt)* against *spro* of LNTU.
In stanzas 22 (b), 53 (d), 67 (b), 69 (a) S reads *skyed* with DJQ against *bskyed* of LNTU.
In stanza 36 (c) S and T read *sa rlung dang* with DJQ against *sa dang rlung* of LNU.
In stanza 88 (a) S gives the revised reading *mdzod spu* with DJQ against *mdzod pu* of LNTU.
In stanza 116 (c) S and T read *kyi* with DJQ against *kyis* of LNU.
In the colophon S and T correctly read together the genitive *gi* with DJQ against the instrumental *gis* handed down in LNU.

According to Paul Harrison' s analysis of the *Drumakinnararāja-paripṛcchāsūtra*, as far as the position of S is concerned there are three possible explanations[101]:

–The first is that S is not a Them spangs ma offshoot, but descends from an earlier MS on the Western side (perhaps the old Snar thang);

[100] Where I accept the Western reading *'dod rnams kyis* as a possible literary translation of the Sanskrit *mataiḥ;* the variation *gzhung* looks like a simplification of *'dod* (*mataiḥ=iṣṭaiḥ)* which is correct but not easily comprehensible.

[101] Harrison 1992b: xxvii.

–the second is that it is a Them spangs ma offshoot, but goes back to a direct copy of the Them spangs ma and not to the intermediary copy that is supposed to have been used to produce T and the ancestor of L;

–the third possibility is that it is a Them spangs ma descendant which has been corrected in the light of a Kanjur from the Eastern tradition, i.e. that it is contaminated.

Given that in the text studied by Harrison S does not differ to an appreciable extent from LT, and that the differences between LT and S are due to the use of an intermediary copy, Harrison accepts as a working hypothesis that the Bhutanese Kanjur used to produce S was also descended from the Them spangs ma.

But in the text analysed here the cases of agreement between S and DJQ are more frequent than those where S agrees with LNTU, and because it agrees invariably with DJQ in the case of indicative errors of LNU, as we have seen above, I would deem that the Bhutanese Kanjur used to produce S, even if it shares a common matrix with T, presents a high degree of contamination from the Eastern tradition[102].

As far as the Tshal pa tradition is concerned, we have a very evident case of agreement between D, J and Q, where D stems from J, but in this case the confluence of readings from the Lho rdzong MS cannot be detected as D agrees with LNTU in very few trivial cases and never in the indicative variants. Regarding the Peking tradition, unfortunately we can only use an issue stemming from the second Peking block print, but we hope that in the near future it will be possible to use an issue of the first block print of 1410, as we know that at least two copies of that issue are still extant[103].

In his study of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* Harrison confirms his previous supposition[104] that the Tshal pa editors collated old MS collections other than those from which the Them spangs ma descends, and reaches the conclusion that the so-called Old Snar thang Kanjur must have been a raw collection of copies which included many duplicates, i.e. multiple copies of the same translation, or different recensions or even different translations of the same text. Moreover he conjectures that while this material was processed at Tshal Gung thang to produce the Tshal pa edition of 1351, it was also

[102]This conjecture was also considered by Eimer (1982 :129) who hypothesised that S (in his paper R) was contaminated by D.

[103]See Eimer 1992b: xxxiv, fn. 78.

[104]Harrison 1992a: 89.

worked on at Zha lu by Bu ston to produce the edition on which the Them spangs ma of 1431 was based[105].

As regards my study, while I have also come to the conclusion that the Tshal pa editors must have had access to a large variety of sources, in some cases of different origin from those previously gathered at Snar thang (i.e. the Kanjur tradition is an open one) I cannot find any evidence, at least for the *Rgyud* section, for a "*Zha lu ma* hypothesis". In Bu ston's commentary to the *Sekoddeśa*[106] none of the errors of LNTU are found, while the Tshal pa recension is unfailingly observed. I do not think that such a corrupted version of one of the most important Tantric texts preserved in the *Rgyud* section (the very first text of the *gnyis su med pa'i rgyud* of the *Anuttaratantra* according to Bu ston's *dkar chag* of the Kanjur)[107] could have been accepted in that section of the Kanjur if the editor had been Bu ston Rin po che himself.

This could lead to rejecting Harrison's "*Zha lu ma* hypothesis", or at least demonstrate that while it might work for some sections of the Kanjur it cannot be extended to its entirety, as Harrison himself also admits[108].

We are again confronted with the problem of the intricacy of the constitution of the Tibetan Kanjur, and with evidence that suggests it is an open textual tradition, with texts that in some cases might prove inconsistent from a stemmatic point of view within the same Kanjur edition.

2. *The Rwa Tradition*

As we have seen above, the other extant Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa* is preserved in two copies in the Phug brag Kanjur, an independent tradition of the Tibetan canon which was compiled between A.D. 1696-1706 in the monastery of Phug brag in west Tibet and is now preserved in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives of Dharamsala (H.P. India). This precious text collection has recently been brought to the attention of Western

[105] Harrison 1992b: xlvii. This same opinion was also discussed by Harrison in his paper "In Search of the Source of the Tibetan Bka' 'gyur: A Reconnaissance Report" read during the 6th International Conference of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (Fagernes, August 21st-28th 1992).

[106] Cf. Bu ston *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rnam bzhad.*

[107] Translated in Eimer 1989: 59.

[108] In Fagernes, August 1992, see above fn. 105.

scholars thanks in particular to the research undertaken by Jampa Samten[109].

In the colophons of these texts, catalogued under Nos. 412 and 485 in Jampa Samten's Descriptive Catalogue *Phu brag bka' 'gyur bris ma'i dkar chag*[110], we find that the first Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa* by Somanātha and Dge slong Shes rab grags, was revised (*zhu chen*) by Paṇḍit Samantaśrī and the Tibetan translator Dge slong Rwa Chos rab, and later revised by Puṇeyaśrīdeśantra[111].

But it should be observed that these revisions gave rise to a very different text, in which we can detect several discrepancies not only in syntactic structure and in word-renderings but also in the interpretation of the Sanskrit original. We will analyse these differences below. Because of the significant differences between the two texts I think there are good reasons to believe that the authorship of the second translation has to be attributed entirely to Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab. As we have seen above they belong to a distinct line of transmission of the Kālacakra teachings, so the differences between the two Tibetan versions can be also interpreted as the result of two different requirements: stylistical, lexical, grammatical and also exegetical. The first statement found in the colophon of the Phug brag texts, where the translation is attributed to Somanātha and Bro Shes rab[112], informs us that together with the original Sanskrit version the authors, Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab, had at their disposal its first Tibetan translation.

It is important to notice that the same version of the Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab translation is also found in the Tibetan translation of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, which is preserved in all the various versions of the Tibetan Tanjur. This text, which unfortunately is no longer extant in the Sanskrit version, has turned out to be of extraordinary value for the critical edition of the Rwa translation of the *Sekoddeśa* as in it all 174 stanzas of this text are quoted in the same version as that given in the Phug brag Kanjur. Furthermore, since the two texts preserved in the Phug brag Kanjur are not integral, I was able to reconstruct the entire version by including it among the witnesses.

The only problem is due to the fact that in the Tibetan colophon of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* preserved in the Tanjur, the translation is

[109]Samten 1992, see also Hahn 1988.

[110]Samten 1992: 148 and 179.

[111]It has not yet been possible for me to identify this name, that however is given in the colophon in a corrupted form.

[112]See below: 115.

attributed exclusively to Somanātha and Dge slong Shes rab grags, authors, as we have seen, of the first translation of the *Sekoddeśa*. No mention is made of Samantaśrī and Dge slong Rwa Chos rab. I think that in this case we can surmise an error in the Tanjur colophon[113]: as the two versions are so perfectly matched it is highly unlikely that the Tibetan translation of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭikā* was by Somanātha and 'Bro shes rab; it must have been authored by Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab[114].

a. The Sources

In editing the Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab translation of the *Sekoddeśa* I have used the two texts handed down in the Phug brag Kanjur and two editions of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭikā* as they are preserved in the Sde dge and Peking Tanjur.

These version are listed below according to the sigla used in the critical apparatus:

F: Phug brag Kanjur, Rgyud, Ka 170a/3-181b/7,Vol. 99 Samten Catalogue No. 412 ;

V: Phug brag Kanjur, Rgyud, Da 248a/1-261a/5, vol. 109, Samten Catalogue No. 485;

[113] In this case the erroneous information is also handed down in Bu ston's commentary to the Tanjur, *Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag*: fol. 420. For an analogous case of erroneous attribution of authorship found in the Tanjur colophon see Hahn 1988: 57.

[114] However we must observe that other cases like this are found in the Kanjur and Tanjur collections, where the two pairs of translators Somanātha and 'Bro Dge slong Shes rab grags, and Samantaśri and Rwa Dge slong Chos rab, are the authors of different Tibetan translations of the same Sanskrit text. For example, the translation of another text of the Kālacakra tradition, the *Sekaprakriyā,* is handed down both in the translation by Samantaśri and Rwa Chos rab (in the *Rgyud* section of all the known edition of the Kanjur, cf. Q #7; D 365) and in the translation by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab (preserved in the Peking Tanjur (Q #4609) while it is not preserved in D Tanjur. This translation however is preserved in the *Rgyud* section of the Phu brag Kanjur, catalogued in Samten 1992 with Nos. 413 and 486. As mentioned above, since in the case of the *Sekoddeśa* the differences between the two translations are also differences in interpretation, I am inclined to hypothesise that, as the authors belong respectively to the two recognised traditions of the Kālacakra school (the Rwa and 'Bro tradition, as we have seen above) the diversities of the translations might be considered the result of two different lines of transmission of the doctrine. But further research has to be conducted and all their extant translations should be investigated before drawing any conclusion.

Ṭ(D): *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa,* Sde dge *Bstan 'gyur, Rgyud 'grel,* Pa 1b/1-27b/7[115];

Ṭ(Q): *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa,* Peking *Bstan 'gyur, Rgyud 'grel,* Nga 2a/1-34a/1 *(The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition,* Vol. 47, No. 2070, pp. 146-159).

III. Notes on the Criteria Adopted in the Textual Analysis

In compiling this edition my aim was to present a text conforming with the readings and the meaning of the various commentaries, *pratīkas* etc. both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan. I have chosen the standardised, more legible version because in any case to construct the ultimate archetype of the text (i.e. the text of the original Tibetan translation which can be traced back to the eleventh century) would be impracticable, as we know that the first Kanjur MS does not date earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century; therefore we are confronted with three centuries of possible corruptions that we cannot investigate. Besides, it should be borne in mind that our knowledge of the form of the Tibetan language used in the eleventh century is very vague and that, as remarked by Harrison[116], in many ways traditional editorial methods have not yet been thoroughly understood by modern scholarship.

In the case of the 'Bro translation of the *Sekoddeśa* we can note the paradoxical situation where the texts which retain the most archaic orthography, as we have seen in the case of the copies of the Them spangs ma MS, are also the most corrupted, while the texts which belong to the Eastern group and which display the greatest degree of standardisation preserve a more correct version conforming to the required sense. Thus in many cases Giorgio Pasquali's famous principle '*recentiores non deteriores*', whereby the Italian scholar demonstrated that the true readings are sometimes preserved only among the latest versions, proves the most valid[117].

In editing the text I have omitted the single readings from the main

[115]I have consulted the edition preserved in the Is.MEO Library.
[116]Cf. Harrison 1992b: 90.
[117]Pasquali 1934: xv, see also Eimer 1988a: 72.

apparatus on the accepted principle that important variants should be discerned from unimportant ones. But as at present we are just beginning to study the texts included in some Kanjurs (i.e. the Ulan Bator, the Phug brag Kanjur) I have collected the single readings of the two Tibetan translations in the last chapter of this study, as I think they might be of interest in order to understand the degree of corruption of the different Kanjur versions. I have referred to the number of the stanzas, the single quarters (a,b,c and d) and the number of the respective syllable (preceded by an asterisk).

IV. Analysis of the Two Translations

The 'Bro version of the *Sekoddeśa* is a very literal translation, where the Sanskrit verses of the Indian text in *anuṣṭubh* metre are rendered in the classical Tibetan seven-syllable quatrains. As the Sanskrit text is translated word for word, in some cases the Tibetan reading is not very clear; while the second translation, by Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab, also in seven-syllable quatrains, uses more elegant and comprehensible syntactic structures. According to its colophon, as mentioned above, this second version followed the first translation by Somānatha and 'Bro Shes rab grags, but in some cases it presents errors of interpretation which had not been made in the earlier work.

The most disconcerting error to be observed in text B is the systematic confusion between the Sanskrit term *niḥspanda (*Tib. *g.yo ba med pa)* and *niṣyanda (*Tib. *rgyu 'thun pa),* and between *spanda (*Tib. *g.yo ba)* and *syanda* (Tib. *'thun)*[118]. Let us examine it case by case.

In stanza 16 the Sanskrit text:

kṣaraḥ kṣaras tataḥ spando niḥspandaś *ca tato 'paraḥ* ||

[118] Although quite inexplicable with regard to the meaning, the reason for this confusion may be of graphical nature, as suggested by Prof. Raniero Gnoli, as in many Indian scripts the consonant Pa in ligatures can easily be mistaken for the consonant Ya. Another reason may be the sexual connotation in this context of the term *niḥspanda,* which in the Rwa tradition may have been expressly distorted to make the text more suitable for monastic institutions. It should

is translated in A:

| *'gyur dang 'gyur ba de nas* 'dzag |
| *de nas gzhan yang* mi 'dzag pa'o[119] |

while in B we find instead:

| *'gyur zhing 'gyur te de nas* 'thun |
| *de nas gzhan ni* rgyu 'thun pa |

The same discrepancy is found again in stanza 20 where the Skr. text:

guhyāsphālāc cirāj jātam vajrāgre spandataḥ *sukham* |
prajñājñānābhiṣiktaḥ sa vṛddhaḥ spandaṃ *gato yataḥ* ||

is rendered in A:

| *yun ring gsang bar spros las skyes* |
| *rdo rje'i rtse mor* g.yo ba'i *bde* |
| *shes rab ye shes dbang bskur ba* |
| *gang las* g.yo ba'i *bgrod de rgan* |

while in B it is translated:

| *yun ring gsang ba mnyes las skyes* |
| *rdo rje rtse mo bde ba* 'thun |
| *gang phyir rgan las* 'thun *gyur pas* |
| *shes rab ye shes de dbang skur* |

In stanza 21 we find the same confusion.The Sanskrit text:

be pointed out that the origin of the Rwa tradition is ascribed to Piṇḍo, the monk from Java who was the master of Atiśa and who according to the latter played an important role in the exegesis of tantric texts during the second propagation of Buddhism in Tibet (cf. Ruegg 1981). This is only a hypothesis, which however I hope to examine in detail in my next studies.

[119]However it should be noticed that in this stanza Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab grags too had read *syanda* and *niḥsyanda,* with their meanings of "to drop" and "not to drop" as they translated it by the Tibetan verb "*'dzag pa* " and "*mi 'dzag pa*".

mahāmudrānurāgād yaj jātaṃ niḥspandataḥ *sukham* |
mahāprajñābhiṣiktaḥ sa yato niḥspandatāṃ *gataḥ* ||

is conveyed in A:

| *phyag rgya chen po rjes chags las* |
| *skyes pa* g.yo med *bde ba ni* |
| *shes rab chen po'i dbang bskur ba* |
| *gang las* g.yo med *rtogs pa de* |

and in B:

| *phyag rgya che la rjes chags pas* |
| rgyu 'thun *las skyes bde ba gang* |
| *gang phyir* rgyu 'thun *nyid du 'gyur* |
| *phyag rgya chen mos de dbang bskur* |

The same is the case in stanza 99. The text of A has:

| *der son zla ba* g.yo ba *dang* |
| mi g.yo ba *dang mi 'gyur bsgom* |

for the Sanskrit:

tatra candragataspando niḥspandākṣarabhāvanā ||

rendered in B:

| *de la zla ba* 'thun *'gyur nas* |
| *mi 'gyur*[120] *bsgom pa* rgyu 'thun *no* |

The term *rgyu 'thun pa* in place of *g.yo ba med* is also found in the Tibetan translation of Kālacakrapāda's *Ṭīkā* mentioned above. In this text in the

[120]It should be noticed that while in the Phug brag text we find *mi 'gyur*, the Ṭīkā texts here again have *mi 'thun*.

comment to stanza 16 we read[121]:

...de bas gzhan ni rgyu mthun bde la 'jig rten pa thams cad ni zag pa dang bcas pa yin la | | zag pa dang bcas pa nyid kyi bye brag ni 'gyur ba dang mthun pa la sogs pa ste | | 'dzag pa'i bdag nyid can no ||

In the comment to stanza 20 we find:

...mthun zhes pa ni yun ring du gnas pa la bya'i thams cad du mi 'dzag pa ni ma yin no||

In these cases *rgyu 'thun pa* too seems to be an error. It should be noted, however, that in the comment to stanza 21 (b) in the same text we find:

| *rgyu mthun ni thogs pa med pa'i rgyu las thogs pa med pa'i 'bras bu skye bar mthun pa'i phyir ro*[122] ||

and below in commenting 21 (c) we find:

....gang phyir rgyu 'thun nyid du 'gyur zhes pa ni rgyu bsgom par bya ba med pa las 'bras bu 'dzin pa med pa'i ye shes su 'byung ba'o ||

Reconstructing the original Sanskrit text is obviously quite difficult if one conjectures that the Tibetan translation is the result of an error, but in this case the suspicion might arise that Kālacakrapāda himself had in mind the word *niṣyanda*, as in this case *niḥspanda* would not make any sense.

Furthermore, below, in the comment to stanza 99 we read[123]:

| *rang gi shes rab ni las sam ye shes so* | *de la 'khyud cing snyoms par 'jug pa las zla ba byang chub kyi sems mthun pa zhes pa 'dzag pa'i rang bzhin ni* | *mi 'thun bsgoms pa rgyu 'thun no* |

which again would lead to suppose that the Indian writer used the term *niḥspanda* where we find the Tibetan translation *rgyu 'thun pa.*

The confusion between *niḥspanda* and *niṣyanda* must have occurred in

[121]Cf. Ṭ (D) fol. 8b/1-2; Ṭ(Q): 150 (fol. 10a/3) omits *de bas gzhan ni rgyu mthun bde.*
[122]Cf. Ṭ(D): fols. 9a/7-9b/1; Ṭ(Q): 150 (fol. 11a/4).
[123]Cf. Ṭ(D): fol. 20a/6; Ṭ(Q): 155 (fol. 24a/4-5)

the early phase of the Kālacakra school, as it seems that in at least one case Kālacakrapāda himself reads *niṣyanda* in his comment. Further research is necessary to draw light on this problem, but in this work I intend to limit myself only to pointing out the lexical and semantic differences between the two Tibetan translations of the *Sekoddeśa*. I hope to do further research into the question of the Kālacakra school hermeneutical traditions in my next studies.

Another significant discrepancy between the two translations is found in stanza 82, where for the Sanskrit "*yac cyutam saukhyaṃ tan nirvāṇaṃ pratiṣṭhitam*" we find an error in all the editions of A consulted:

| *'dod chags bral las* 'pho med *bde* | | *de ni mya ngan 'das rab gnas* |[124]

While in B we have the correct rendering:

| *dga' bral las ni bde* 'pho *gang* | | *mya ngan 'das la de rab gnas* |

Furthermore, in stanza 73 (d) in B we find an error: *zla gnyis* (for the Skr. *tribhir māsair*) instead of *zla gsum* of A.

Besides, analysing the lexicon used in the two translations, we also have to note the differences in linguistic choice, such as:

while in A we find *bshang, gci,* and *khu ba* consistently used, in B we have the more literary *dri chen, dri chu, sa bon* or *shu bkra*[125].

In stanza 16 the Sanskrit term *cit* is rendered *sems* in A and *yid* in B.

In stanza18 the Sanskrit *payodhara* is rendered *'o ma 'dzin pa* in A and *dkar 'dzin* in B.

In stanza 26 the Sanskrit *khadyota* is translated *mkha' snang* in A and *me khyer* in B.

In stanza 46 in B the translation of the term *lalanā* (*brkyang ma* in A) is omitted.

In certain cases B prefers the transcription of Sanskrit words to their translation into Tibetan. This is the case, for example, in stanzas 51 and 53

[124]It has to be noticed however that this same mistake is also found in the Tibetan translation of Nāropā's *Sekoddeśaṭikā,* but not in the Sanskrit text. In the Tibetan translation we read in the comment to stanza 82: (Q #2068: 129, fol. 317b/4): "*rdo rje nor bu las pho ba med pa gang yin pa de ni myang las 'das pa'o*".

[125]In this case too the semantic choice found in B could again be due, as seen above, to the necessity of rendering the text more suitable to a monastic audience. Cf. above fn. 117.5

where the second translation has *padma* while in the first we find *chu skye*. However in stanza 52 while in A we have the transliteration of *avadhūtī*, in B we find its Tibetan translation *kun 'dar*. But below, in stanza 77, while in A we find the Tibetan term *kun spangs* in B we find the transcription of the Sanskrit *avadhūtī*.

Again, in stanza 56 we find the Tibetan translation *g.yun mo rigs snan* in A whereas in B we find the transliteration of the Sanskrit *ḍombhī*.

Besides, in stanza 56 the Sanskrit *khagamukhā* is translated *mkha' gro gdong* in A and *nam mkha'i gdong* in B.

In stanzas 60 and 61 the Sanskrit term *nāḍikā*, correctly translated with the Tibetan *chu tshod* in A, in B is improperly rendered with the Tibetan word *rtsa* (Skr. *nāḍi)*.

In stanza 62 the Sanskrit *bhava* is translated in A *'byung ba*, while in B we find the rendering *srid par*.

In stanza 63 in A the Sanskrit *dharā* is literally translated with the Tibetan *'dzin ma* while in B we find its more comprehensible translation in Tibetan *sa*.

In stanza 79 in A the Sanskrit *vañcana* is translated with *slu;* in B we find the Tibetan *blu*.

In stanza 82 the translation of the Sanskrit expression *apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa* is rendered in B in a more intelligible way (*rab tu mi gnas mya ngan 'das)* than in A (*rab gnas mya ngan 'das pa min)*.

In stanza 86 in A the Sanskrit *bhava* is rendered in Tibetan with the word *dngos po* while in B we find the term *srid pa*, which in this case is more appropriate to the meaning.

In stanza 100, whereas B translates the Sanskrit *kāyavākcitta* in both instances where it occurs with the Tibetan *lus ngag sems*, A distinguishes their different connotations and in the second case renders the Sanskrit with the Tibetan honorific *sku gsung thugs*.

In stanza 115 the Sanskrit *dharma (chos* in A*)* is rendered with the Tibetan *sem* in B *(*as the translators had the term *cit* in their manuscript*)*.

In stanza 147 Samantaśri and Dge slong Chos rab do not read *tad acyuta* (in A *de mi 'pho ba'o)* but *tad uktam (*Tib. *de brjod do)*.

In stanza 153 in A we find the Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit term *akṣara (*Tib. *mi 'gyur)* while in B we find the translation of *anuttara (*Tib. *bla na med)*.

In stanza 154 Samantaśrī and Dge slong chos rab read *anyonyaliṅgita (*Tib. *phan tshun du ni mkhyud pa)* for *anyonyamudrita (phan tshun rgya yis btab pa)* as found in A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sigla

A	The Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa* by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab.
B	The Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa* by Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab.
D	Sde dge Kanjur and Tanjur. Followed by a number refers to a text catalogued in: *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur).* Edited by Hakuju UI, Munetada Suzuki, Tokan Tada. With an Index Volume. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934. [Reprint Tokyo 1970].
F	Volume 99 (Rgyud, Ka) of the Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur.
J	Lithang Edition of the Kanjur.
L	London Manuscript Kanjur.
LKC	*Laghukālacakratantra.*
N	Narthang Edition of the Kanjur.
Q	Peking (Qianlong) Edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur. Followed by Vol. and a number, and/or # and a number, refers respectively to the number of the volume and the number of the text as catalogued in: *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking Edition.* Reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University. Kyoto. Ed. by Daisetz T.Suzuki, Vols. 1-168. Tokyo, Kyoto: Suzuki Research Foundation 1955-1961.
S	Stog Palace Manuscript Kanjur.
Skr.	Sanskrit.
T	Tokyo Manuscript Kanjur.
Tib.	Tibetan.
Ṭ(D)	Kālacakrapāda's Sekoddeśaṭīkā (Sde dge *bstan 'gyur).*
Ṭ(Q)	Kālacakrapāda's Sekoddeśaṭīkā (Peking *bstan 'gyur).*
U	Ulan Bator Manuscript Kanjur.
V	Volume 109 (Rgyud, Da) of the Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur.
VP	*Vimalaprabhā.*

Bod tshig: Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo. Nyan shul Mkhyen rab 'od gsal et als. Peking: *Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.* III vols. 1985.

Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364)

Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag: Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba in *The Collected Works of Bu-ston,* Part 26 (La). Ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1971: fols. 401-466.

Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rnam bzhad: Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rnam bzhad bsdud pa'i snying po rab tu gsal ba in *The Collected Works of Bu ston,* Part 3 (Ga) Ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1965: fols. 587-726.

Dus 'khor chos 'byung: Rgyud sde'i zab don sgo 'byed rin chen gces pa'i lde mig ces bya ba in *The Collected Works of Bu ston,* Part 4 (Nga). Ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1965: fols. 1-92.

Ḍākinīvajrapañjaramahātantrarājakalpa, (Tib only): *'Phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje 'gur shes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po* in Q Vol. 1 # 11: 223-238. D 419.

'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1478)

Deb gter sngon po. Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1976. English Transl. Roerich 1949.

Guhyādyaṣṭasiddhisaṃgraha, ed. by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabha Dvivedi, Rare Buddhist Text Series, 1, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi, 1988.

Kālacakragaṇitopadeśa (Skr.) *Kālacakrānusārigaṇita,* National Archives, Kathmandu, No 152 VI, 22 , Mf. B 22/22,

(Tib.) *Rtsis kyi man ngag,* Q Vol. 149 # 5900. D 4455.

Kālacakrapāda

Sekoddeśaṭīkā, (Tib. only) *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa,* in Q Vol. 47 # 2070. D 1353.

Klong rdol bla ma (1765)

Dus 'khor lo rgyus: Klong rdol bla ma Nga dbang blo bzang: *Dang po'i sangs rgyas dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i lo rgyus dang ming gi rnam grangs,* in Lokesh Chandra. *The Collected Works of Longdol Lama.* New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1973: fols. 232-282.

Laghukālacakratantra (Skr.) in Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra (ed.) *Kālacakra-tantra and Other Texts,* Part 1. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1966: fols. 332-378.

Mkhas grub rje (1434)

Dus 'khor ṭik chen: Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang: *Rgyud thams cad kyi rgyal po bcom ldan 'das dpal dus kyi 'khor lo mchog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas kyi rtsa ba'i rgyud las phyung ba bsdud ba'i rgyud kyi 'grel chen rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od kyi rgya cher bshad pa de kho na nyid snang bar byed pa zhes bya ba* in *Yab sras gsung 'bum,* Mkhas grub, Kha, Dharamsala, H.P. India: Tibetan Cultural Printing Press. 1983.

Nāropā (d.1040)

Paramārthasaṃgraha: Skr: *Paramārthasaṃgrahanāmasekoddeśaṭikā* (Skr.) in Carelli, M. (ed) *Sekoddeśaṭikā of Naḍapāda.*Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XC Baroda 1941.

(Tib.) *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i 'grel bshad don dampa bsdus pa zhes bya ba.* Q Vol. 47 #2068. D 1351.

Vajrapadasārasaṃgrahapañjikā. (Tib. only) *Rdo rje tshig gi snying po bsdus pa dka' 'grel.* Tib. Transl. by Śākyaśrībhadra and Chos kyi bzang po in Q Vol. 54 #2316. D 1186.

Padma dkar po (1527-1592)

'Brug pa'i chos 'byung in *The Tibetan Chronicles of Padma dkar po.* Ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. Śata-piṭaka Series vol. 75. 1968.

Pañjikā (Skr.) National Archives, Kathmandu, *Sekādikoddeśapada* [*Kalyāṇakāmadhenuvivaraṇasahitaḥ*], tṛ 363, VI 194; Mf. B 94/9.

(Tib.): *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i dka' 'grel* (Transl. Bu-ston) in QVol. 47 # 2071. D1354.

Puṇḍarīka

Kālacakratantragarbhavṛttivimalaprabhā (Tib. only) Q Vol. 81 #4608.

Vimalaprabhā, (Skr.) MS. Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. G. 10766.

Vimalaprabhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarīka (Vol. I, containing the *ṭikā* to the chapters I and II), critical ed. by Jagannatha Upadhyaya, Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica, Series 11. Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. Sarnath, Varanasi. 1986.

(Tib.): *Bsdus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od* in *The Collected Works of Bu-ston.* Part 3 (Ga). Ed. Lokesh Chandra. 1965. New Delhi. Q Vol. 46 #2064. D 845 and 1347.

Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda

*Sekoddeśaṭippaṇi (*Skr.*)* (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. MS. 10744.

(Tib.): *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i mdor bshad,* Transl. Nags kyi nin chen, Gzhon nu dpal) in Q Vol. 47 # 2069; D 1352.

(Tib.): *Mchog gi dang po 'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po*

chen po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdud pa'i rgyud go sla'i mchan bcas in *The Collected Works of Bu ston*: Part 1 (Ka). Ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1965: fols. 1-299. Q 1 #4. D 362.

Tāranātha (1575-1634)

Dus 'khor chos bskor: *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos bskor gyi byung khungs nyer mkho* in *Taranatha gsung 'bum*, Kha 1a-22a.

Dgos 'dod kun 'byung: *Dam pa 'i chos rin po che 'phags pa'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung*. Ed.Lhama Thubtan Jungnes. Sarnath. 1971. Engl. Transl. in Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya. 1970.

Vajragarbha

Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā by Vajragarbhadaśabhūmīśvara, National Archives, Kathmandu, C 128, Mf, C 14/6; tṛ 693, VI 230, Mf., A 693/11. (Tib.) *Kye'i rdo rje bsdud pa'i don gyi rgya cher 'grel pa*. Q Vol. 53 #2310; D1180.

Vajrapāṇi

Lakśābhidhānoddhṛtalaghvabhidhānapiṇḍārthavivaraṇam (MS. Tucci, IsMEO, not in catalogue).

(Tib.): *Mngon par brjod pa 'bum pa las phyung ba nyung ngu'i rgyud kyi bsdud pa'i don rnam par bshad pa* Q vol. 48, # 2117. D 1402.

Vijayāpāda

Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī (Tib. only) *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i brjed byan*. Tib. Transl. by Dpang blo gros brtan pa in Q Vol. 48 #2104. D 1389.

Studies

Apte, V. S.

1970 *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Revised and Enlarged Edition. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company reprint. 1986.

Bacot, J.

1912 "L'écriture cursive tibétaine." *JA*, Série X, Tome XIX (Janvier-Février): 5-78.

Beckh, H.

1914 *Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. I: Kanjur (Bkah-hgyur) Berlin. (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. XXIV).

Bethlenfalvy, G.

1982 *A Hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Them Spangs ma*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Chimpa, L. & A. Chattopadhyaya
1970 (Transl.) *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Csoma de Körös, A.
1833 "A Note on the Origin of the Kāla-cakra and Ādi-Buddha Systems." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 2: 57-59. (Reprinted in 1911 in the *Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 7(extra number): 21-23.

Eimer, H.
1980 "Einige Hinsweise zur Edition tibetischer kanonischer Texte." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 14/1: 195-209.
1982 "Zur Beurteilung der Textqualität der Kanjurhandschrift aus dem Palast in Tog/Ladakh" in Hercus, L. B. et. al., eds. *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday.* Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies: 121-136.
1983a "Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research" in D. Schuh & M. Weiers, eds., *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtforschung.* Heft 1. Sankt Augustin: 5-25.
1983b *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gźi: Die tibetische Übersetzung des Pravrajyāvastu im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivadins* (Asiatische Forschungen, 82) 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz.
1988a "A Note on the History of the Tibetan Kanjur." *Central Asiatic Journal* 32 (1-2): 64-72.
1988b "The Position of the 'Jaṅ sa tham/Lithang Edition within the Tradition of the Tibetan Kanjur" in H. Eimer, ed. *Indology and Tibetology: Thirty Years of Indian and Indo-Tibetan Studies in Bonn* (Indica et Tibetica 13). Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag: 43-52.
1989 *Der Tantra-Katalog des Bu ston im Vergleich mit der Abteilung Tantra des tibetischen Kanjur.* Studie, Textausgabe, Konkordanzen und Indices (Indica et Tibetica 17). Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
1992 "Zum Stand der Kanjurforschung" in H. Eimer *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung der tibetischen Kanjur.* Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde. Heft 28.Wien: IX-XL.

Gnoli, R. & G. Orofino
1994 *Nāropā. L'iniziazione, Traduzione e commento della Sekoddeśaṭīkā di Nāropā.* Milano: Adelphi. In Press.
1995 *Sekoddeśa. Commentaries. Part I: Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Texts. Part II: Critical Edition of the Tibetan Texts.* Rome: S.O.R. Forthcoming.

Grinstead, E.D.
1967 "The Manuscript Kanjur in the British Museum." *Asia Major.* New Series. XIII (Parts1-2): 48-70.

Grönbold, G.
1991 " Das datum des Buddha nach tantrischen Texten" in H. Bechert, ed. in *The*

Dating of the Historical Buddha. I. Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, IV,1. Göttingen: 385-402.

Haarh, E.

1954 "Die Berliner Kanjur Handschrift." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Vol. CIV, pp. 539-540.

Hahn, M.

1988 "Bemerkungen zu zwei Texten aus dem Phug drag-Kanjur" in H. Eimer, ed. *Indology and Tibetology: Thirty Years of Indian and Indo-Tibetan Studies in Bonn (*Indica et Tibetica 13) Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag: 53-80.

Harrison, P.

1992a "Meritorious Activity or Waste of Time? Some Remarks on the Editing of Texts in the Tibetan Kanjur" in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989,* Ihara Shōren, Yamaguchi Zuiho, eds. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji.

1992b *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra.* A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text (Recension A) based on Eight Editions of the Kanjur and the Dunhuang Manuscript Fragment. *Studia Philologica Buddhica. Monograph Series, VII.* Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Hoffmann, H.

1951 "Literarhistorische Bemerkungen zur Sekoddeśaṭīkā des Nāḍapāda". *Festschrift Walther Schubring*. Hamburg: 140-147.

1956 *Die Religionen Tibets*. Freiburg: Karl Alber.

1960 "Manicheism and Islam in the Buddhist Kālacakra System." *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto 1958.* Tokyo.

1964 "Das Kālacakra, die letzte Phase des Buddhismus in Indien." *Saeculum.* 15: 125-131.

1967 "Hinduismus und Buddhismus von Ashoka bis zur mohammedanischen Eroberung." *Saeculum Weltgeschichte* 3 : 358-408.

1969 "Kālacakra Studies: Manicheism, Christianity and Islam in the *Kālacakra Tantra*", *Central Asiatic Journal* 13: 52-63.

1973 "Buddha's Preaching of the Kālacakra Tantra at the Stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka."*German Scholars of India* 1. Varanasi: 136-140.

1975 *Tibet: A Handbook,* Bloomington: Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University.

Imaeda, Y.

1977 "Mise au point concernant les éditions chinoises du Kanjur et du Tanjur" in Macdonald Arianne, ed. *Essais sur l' art du Tibet.* Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient: 23-51.

1982-1984 *Catalogue du Kanjur tibétain de l'edition de 'Jang sa-tham* (Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior, a & b) 2 vols. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Naudou, J.
1968 *Les Bouddhistes Kāśmiriens au Moyen Age*. Annales du Musée Guimet. LXVIII. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Newman, J.
1985 "A Brief History of Kālacakra" in Geshe Lhundub Sopa, ed. *The Wheel of Time* (Deer Park Books, Madison, Wisconsin) 1. Reprinted by Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca, New York, 1991: 51-90.
1987a *The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International) [University of Wisconsin-Madison Ph.D. thesis].
1987b "The *Paramādibuddha* (The *Kālacakramulatantra)* and its Relation to the Early Kālacakra Literature." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 30: 93-102.
1988 "Buddhist Sanskrit in the Kālacakra Tantra." *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 11 (1): 123-140.
Forthcoming "Itineraries to Sambhala" in Roger Jackson and José Cabezón, eds. *Tibetan Literature*. Ithaca. NY: Snow Lion Publications.

Nihom, M.
1984 "Notes on the Origin of Some Quotations in the Sekoddeśaṭikā of Naḍapāda." *Indo Iranian Journal* 27: 17-26.

Pasquali, G.
1934 *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo,* Firenze: Le Monnier (Repr. 1988 Casa Editrice Le Lettere. Firenze).

Reigle, D.
1986 "The Lost Kālacakra Mūla Tantra on the Kings of Śambhala." *Kālacakra Research Publications,* 1 (Talent, O.R. Eastern School).

Roerich, G. N.
1932 "Studies in the Kālacakra I". *Journal of the 'Urusvati' Himalayan Research Institute of the Roerich Museum.* 2 : 11-23
1949 (Transl) *Blue Annals*. Compiled by 'Gos Lotsāwa. Calcutta. Repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976.

Ruegg, D. S.
1966 *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che,* S.O.R. (XXXIV): Is.M.E.O. Roma.
1981 Deux problémes d' exegèse et de pratiques tantriques selon Dipaṃkaraśrijñāna et le Paiṇdapātika de Yavadvīpa/ Suvarṇadvīpa" in M. Strickmann, ed. *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein.* Melanges chinois et bouddhiques XX. Bruxelles: 212-226.
1984 "Problems in the Transmission of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Western Himalaya About the Year 1000." *Acta Indologica* 6: 369-381.

Saitō, K.
1973 "Kawaguchi Ekai-shi shōrai Tōyō Bunko shozō shahon chibetto daizōkyō chōsa bibō." *Taishō Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō* 63 (Sept.1973): 406 (1)-345 (62).

Samten, Jampa S.
1987 "Notes on the Lithang Edition of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur." *The Tibet Journal* XII, 3 Dharamsala:LTWA: 17-40.
1992 *Phug brag bka' 'gyur bris ma'i dkar chag. A Catalogue of the Phug brag Kanjur.* Dharamsala: LTWA.

Snellgrove, D. L.
1959 *The Hevajra Tantra.* Part 1: Translation, Part 2: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts. London: Oxford University Press.

Schuh, D.
1973 *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung.* Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschlans. Supplementband 16. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Skorupski, T.
1985 *A Catalogue of the sTog Palace Kanjur* (Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior, IV) Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Tapar, R.
1966 *A History of India.* London, New York: Penguin Books.

Tucci, G.
1931 "The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the Sixteenth Century". *Indian Historical Quarterly* VII: 683-702. Repr. in *Opera Minora.* II. Università di Roma (VI) 1971: Giovanni Bardi Editore: 305-321.

Vogel, C.
1964 "On Tibetan Chronology." *Central Asiatic Journal* IX (3): 224-238.

West, M.
1973 *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique,* Stuttgart: Teubner.

Wylie, T.
1982 "Dating the Death of Nāropa." L. Hercus et al., eds. *Indolological and Buddhist Studies. Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday.* Canberra.

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS

Text A

| rgya gar skad du | | se ko dde sha[1] |
| bod skad du | | dbang mdor bstan pa |

| dpal rdo rje sems dpa' la phyag 'tshal lo |
| zla ba bzang pos gsol pa |

| ston pa dbang bskur rnam bdun dang |
| rnam gsum de bzhin bla na med |
| 'jig rten 'das pa'i dngos grub phyir |
| mdor bsdus pa yis bdag la gsungs | [1]

| bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa |

| nyon cig zla bzang dbang bskur don |
| rnam pa bdun dang rnam gsum mchog |
| rtsa yi kun spyod rtsol ba ni |
| mdor bstan pa yis khyod la bshad | [2]

| rgyud du mdor bstan rnam gsum dang |
| rgyas par bshad pa rnam gsum 'gyur |
| rab tu mdor bstan mdor bstan che |
| rab tu rgyas par bshad pa gzhan | [3]

| mdor bstan rgyas par bshad pa nyid |
| rgyud yang dag par bsdus par brjod |
| rab tu mdor bstan rgyas bshad pa |
| dka'[2] 'grel tshig ni 'byed pa'o | [4]

| mdor bstan chen po rgyas bshad pa |
| 'grel bshad thams cad don ston byed |
| de ni mngon shes thob rnams kyis |
| bya yi mkhas rnams kyis min nyid | [5]

[1] L N S T U: *Ṣa ko ta da sha.*
[2] S Q: *bka'.*

Text B

| se ko dde sha |[1] | bod skad du |
| dbang mdor bstan pa |

| dpal dus kyi 'khor lo la phyag 'tshal lo |
| zla ba bzang pos yang gsol pa |

| ston pa dbang ni rnam bdun dang |
| rnam gsum de bzhin bla na med |
| 'jig rten 'jig rten 'das bsgrub phyir |
| mdor bsdus par ni[2] bdag la gsungs | [1]

| bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa |

| nyon cig zla bzang dbang gi don |
| rnam bdun rnam gsum mchog dang ni |
| rtsa ba'i kun spyod brtsol ba ni |
| mdor bsdus pa[3] yis khyod la bshad | [2]

| rgyud la mdor bsdus rnam gsum dang |
| rgyas par bshad pa 'ang gsum du 'gyur |
| rab tu mdor bstan mdor bstan che |
| rab tu rgyas par bshad pa gzhan | [3]

| mdor bstan 'di nyid rgyas bshad te[4] |
| rgyud kyi bsdus pa brjod pa yin |
| rab tu mdor bstan rgyas bshad ni |
| dka' 'grel tshig ni 'joms pa'o | [4]

| mdor bstan chen po'i rgyas bshad ni |
| 'grel bshad thams cad bsdus don te |
| de yang mngon shes thob rnams kyis |
| bya ba yin gyis[5] mkhas gzhan min | [5]

1 F V: *she kod de sha;* Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *she kodde sha*
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa yis* for *par.*
3 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ba.*
4 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *rgyas par bshad pa nyid* for *'di nyid rgyas bshad te.*
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ma yin* for *yin gyis.*

A

| de ltar mtha' drug rnams kyis dag |
| rdo rje'i rnal 'byor rnam bzhi dang |
| rdzogs pa'i byang chub bzhi rnams dang |
| phung khams skye mched rigs drug rnams | [6]

| dag pa 'jig rten khams la sogs |
| le'u lngar ni 'dod[1] rnams kyis |
| bden gnyis dang po'i sangs rgyas 'gyur |
| dus kyi 'khor lo mngon brjod[2] byed | [7]

| dang por dbang bskur bdun po gang |
| byis pa rnams ni gzhug pa'i phyir |
| rnam gsum 'jig rten kun rdzob kyis |
| dam pa'i don gyis bzhi pa'o | [8]

| bden pa gnyis kyi chos rnams kyi |
| rdo rje can bdag gis bstan pa |
| 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa dang |
| dam pa'i don gyi bden pas so | [9]

| chu dang cod pan dar dpyangs dang |
| rdo rje dril bu brtul zhugs che |
| ming dang rjes gnang yang dag ldan |
| dbang bskur rnam bdun mi yi bdag | [10] |

| lus ngag sems ni legs dag pa |
| mngon par dbang bskur gnyis gnyis so |
| rjes gnang ye shes yang dag dag |
| gzhan pa khams sogs dag pa las | [11]

[1] D J Q: *lnga yi gzhung* for *lngar ni 'dod.*
[2] D Q S: *rjod.*

| de ltar mtha' drug rnams kyis dag | **B**
| rdo rje'i[1] rnal 'byor rnam bzhi dang |
| byang chub rnam bzhi[2] phung po dang |
| khams dang skye mched rigs drug rnams | [6]

| 'jig rten khams sogs brjod pa ste |
| le'u lnga yis dag pa yin[3] |
| dus kyi 'khor lo mngon brjod de |
| gden gnyis dang po'i sangs rgyas yin | [7]

| gang yang dang por[4] dbang bdun ni |
| byis pa rnams ni bzhugs pa ste |
| 'jig rten kun rdzob rnam pa gsum |
| bzhi pa dag ni don dam nyid | [8]

| chos rnams bden pa gnyis kyis ni |
| rdo rje 'dzin pa ngas bstan te |
| 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa dang |
| don dam gnyis kyi bden pas so | [9]

| chu dang cod pan dar dpyangs dang |
| rdo rje dril bu brtul zhugs che |
| ming dang rjes gnang bcas pa dang |
| rnam bdun dbang po rgyal po kye | [10] |

| lus ngag yid ni dag byed pa |
| mngon par dbang bskur gnyis gnyis ste |
| rjes gnang ye shes dag pa yin |
| gzhan yang khams sogs yang dag dag |[5] [11]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *rje.*
[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bzhi'i.*
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ste.*
[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *po'i.*
[5] Verse 11d (Skr. *anyā dhātvādiśuddhitaḥ*) is omitted in F and V but is found in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q).

A

| chu ni khams kyi dag pa ste |
| cod pan phung po rnam sbyong byed |
| dar dpyangs pha rol phyin pa dag |
| rdo rje dril bu mi 'gyur che | [12]

| sangs rgyas skad rgyun mi 'chad pa |
| nyi zla gcig[1] tu dag par byed |
| yul dang dbang po legs dag pa |
| 'pho med rdo rje'i brtul zhugs 'gyur | [13]

| ming ni byams sogs yang dag dag |
| rjes gnang sangs rgyas nyid dag byed |
| dbang bskur bdun po 'di rnams ni[2] |
| dkyil 'khor bzhengs nas sbyin par bya | [14]

| bum pa gsang ba'i dbang bskur dang |
| shes rab ye shes mngon brjod[3] pa |
| slar yang shes rab chen po nyid |
| de yi ye shes mngon brjod[4] byed | [15]

| 'gyur dang 'gyur ba[5] de nas 'dzag |
| de nas gzhan yang mi 'dzag pa'o |
| lus ngag sems ni legs dag pas |
| dbang bskur gsum po rim pa yis | [16]

| bzhi pa ye shes yang dag dag |
| lus ngag sems ni dag par byed |
| byis pa dar ma de nas rgan |
| bzhi pa skye dgu'i bdag po'o | [17]

[1] N S T U: *cig*
[2] L N T U: *yin.*
[3] D Q S: *rjod.*
[4] D J Q S: *rjod.*
[5] D J S: *dang.*

| chu'i khams rnams dag pa ste[1] | **B**
| cod pan gyis ni phung po dag[2] |
| dar dpyangs pha rol phyin pa dag |
| rdo rje dril bu mi 'gyur che | [12]

| sangs rgyas gsung rgyun mi 'chad pa |
| nyi zla gcig tu dag pa'o |
| rdo rje brtul zhugs mi 'pho ba |
| yul dang dbang po dag pa'o | [13]

| ming ni byams pa la sogs dag |
| gnang pa[3] sangs rgyas nyid du dag |
| dbang bdun po ni 'di yin te |
| dkyil 'khor bzhengs nas sbyin par bya | [14]

| bum pa dang ni gsang ba'i[4] dbang[5] |
| shes rab ye shes mngon brjod pa[6] |
| slar yang shes rab chen po ni |
| de yis[7] ye shes mngon par brjod | [15]

| 'gyur zhing 'gyur te de nas 'thun |
| de nas gzhan ni rgyu 'thun pa[8] |
| mngon par dbang skur rim gsum gyis |
| lus ngag yid ni yang dag dag | [16]

| bzhi pa ye shes dag pa ni |
| lus ngag yid kyang dag par byed |
| byis pa dar ma de nas rgan |
| bzhi pa yang ni skye rgu'i bdag | [17]

[1] F V: | *chu'i khams sogs yang dag dag* | for | *chu'i khams rnams dag pa ste* | (resulting from the conflation of 11d with 12a).

[2] F V: *dang*.

[3] F V: *pa*.

[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ba*.

[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dang*.

[6] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mngon par brjod* for *mngon brjod pa*.

[7] F Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yi*.

[8] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) omit quarters 16 a, b except for the first two words of the beginning.

A

| shes rab nu mar yan lag ni |
| reg pas byang chub sems 'pho'i bde |
| 'o ma 'dzin pas dbang bskur ba |
| gang las bde thob de byis pa'o | [18]

| yun ring gsang bar spros[1] las skyes |
| byang chub sems ni 'pho ba'i bde |
| gsang ba'i dbang bskur gsang ba ni |
| gang las bde thob de dar ma | [19]

| yun ring gsang bar spros las skyes |
| rdo rje'i rtse mor g.yo ba'i bde |
| shes rab ye shes dbang bskur ba |
| gang las g.yo ba'i bgrod de rgan | [20]

| phyag rgya chen po rjes chags las |
| skyes pa g.yo med bde ba ni |
| shes rab chen po'i dbang bskur ba |
| gang las g.yo med rtogs pa de | [21]

| skye dgu'i bdag por rnam shes bya |
| skyob pa thams cad skyed[2] mdzad pa |
| rdo rje sems dpa' sems dpa' che |
| byang sems gnyis med mi 'gyur ba | [22]

| 'di ni dam tshig sems dpar 'gyur |
| rdo rje'i rnal 'byor rnam pa bzhi |
| dus kyi 'khor lo 'dir bshad pa |
| rnal 'byor pa yi thar ster byed | [23]

[1] L N T U: *spro.*
[2] L N T U: *bskyed.*

| shes rab nu ma'i[1] yan lag ni | **B**
| reg las byang chub sems 'pho bde |
| gang phyir byis pa de thob pa |
| dkar 'dzin gyis ni de dbang bskur | [18]

| gsang ba mnyes las yun ring skyes |
| byang chub sems 'pho bde ba ste |
| gang phyir gsang las bde thob pa |
| dar la bab pa de dbang bskur | [19]

| yun ring[2] gsang ba mnyes las skyes |
| rdo rje rtse mo bde ba 'thun[3] |
| gang phyir rgan las 'thun[4] gyur pas |
| shes rab ye shes de dbang bskur | [20]

| phyag rgya che la rjes chags pas |
| rgyu 'thun[5] las skyes bde ba gang |
| gang phyir rgyu 'thun[6] nyid du 'gyur |
| phyag rgya chen mo sde dbang bskur | [21]

| skyobs pa skye rgu'i bdag po de |
| thams cad skyed[7] mdzad mar shes bya |
| rdo rje sems dpa' sems dpa' che |
| mi 'gyur gnyis med byang chub sems |[8] [22]

| dam tshigs sems dpa' 'di yin zhing |
| rdo rje'i rnal 'byor rnam pa bzhi |
| dus kyi 'khor lo 'di ru brjod |
| rnal 'byor rnams la thar ster ba | [23]

1 F V: *nyi ma* for *nu ma'i.*
2 F V: *rings.*
3 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mthun.*
4 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mthun.*
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mthun.*
6 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mthun.*
7 F V Ṭ(Q): *bskyed.*
8 In the Ṭikā stanza 22 is omitted but it is commented.

A

| 'di nyid kyi ni bsgrub pa[1] bya |
| rab gsal bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i |
| du sogs mtshan ma de rnams kyis[2] |
| shes rab gzugs brnyan nam mkha' mnyam | [24]

| yod dang med las rnam par 'das |
| rang gi sems kyi rkyen gyi don |
| rdul phran las skyes tshogs pa rnams |
| kun nas yongs su[3] dor ba yis | [25]

| du ba smig rgyu[4] mkha' snang dang |
| sgron ma 'bar ba zla nyi ma |
| mun can cha dang thig le che |
| sna tshogs gzugs brnyan 'od gsal ba | [26]

| bkab dang ma bkab mig dag gis |
| stong par 'di ni rjes brtags min |
| rmi lam bzhin du gzugs mthong 'gyur |
| rtag tu gzugs de bsgom par bya | [27]

| dngos med gzugs la sgom pa de |
| rnal 'byor pa yi bsgom ma yin[5] |
| dngos po dngos med sems kyi min |
| stong par ma brtags mthong phyir ro | [28]

| ji ltar pra phab me long la |
| gzhon nu mas mthong dngos med skyes |
| de bzhin 'das dang ma 'ongs chos |
| mkha' la de nyid rnal 'byor pas | [29]

[1] J Q: *sgrub byed* for *bsgrub pa.*
[2] D J Q: *kyi.*
[3] L U: *yongsu.*
[4] L N T U: *sgyu.*
[5] D J: *pa min* for *ma yin.*

| 'di nyid bsgrub par bya ba ni | **B**
| ma bsam pa'i snang ba dang |
| du ba la sogs mtshan ma de |
| shes rab gzugs ni mkha' mnyam dang | [24]

| yod dang med las rnam par 'das |
| sems kyi rkyen gyis[1] don rnams dang |
| rdul 'phran las skyes tshogs pa rnams |
| kun tu[2] yongs su spangs pas so | [25]

| du ba smig rgyu me khyer dang |
| mar me 'bar dang nyi zla dang |
| mun can cha shas thig le che |
| sna tshogs gzugs ni rab tu gsal | [26]

| mig gnyis ma phye ma btsums pas |
| gang zhig[3] stong par ma brtags pa |
| rmi lam bzhin du gzugs mthong ba |[4]
| gzugs de rtag tu bsgom par bya | [27]

| med pa'i gzugs la bsgom pa ni |
| rnal 'byor rnams kyis de bsgom min |
| stong par ma brtags mthong ba'i phyir |
| sems la dngos dang dngos po med |[5] [28]

| ji ltar me long pra la ni |
| dngos med las skyes bu mos mthong |
| mkha' la de nyid[6] rnal 'byor pas |
| 'das dang ma 'ongs chos de bzhin | [29]

[1] F V: *gyi.*
[2] F Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *du.*
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *gis.*
[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *rmi lam lta bur mthong ba'o* | for | *rmi lam bzhin du gzugs mthong ba* |.
[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *sems ni dngos dang dngos po min* | for | *sems la dngos dang dngos po med* |.
[6] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bzhin.*

A

| 'di la[1] dngos po dngos med 'gyur |
| dngos po stong pa'i don mthong phyir |
| dngos po dngos med don yod pa |
| sgyu ma rmi lam mig 'phrul bzhin | [30]

| med pa'i chos can dag la chos |
| skye ba 'di ni rab tu mthong |
| yid bzhin nor ltar mtha' yas pa'i |
| sems can bsam pa yongs rdzogs byed | [31]

| pra phab pa yi gzhon nu mas |
| ma mthong ba yi rkun po mthong |
| nyi tshe ba yi mig dag gis |
| song nas sgrub pa po yis mthong | [32]

| gal te yod pa'i gzugs mthong na |
| rang gi gdong pa cis mi mthong |
| gal te med pa'i gzugs mthong na |
| ri bong rwa ni ji ltar min | [33]

| gzhan gyi mig gis mi mthong zhing |
| rang gi mig gis mthong min pa |
| skye ba med pa mthong ba ni |
| gzhon nu ma yi bu ji bzhin | [34]

| gzugs brnyan mthong na de nas ni |
| bar ma chad par srog rtsol bya |
| steng 'og rtsa gsum po rnams la |
| lus ngag sems ni 'gog pa las | [35]

[1] D J Q: *las*.

| 'di min[1] pas na dngos yod min | **B**
| dngos po stong pa'i don mthong phyir |
| dngos po med pa'i don yod[2] pa |
| rmi lam sgyu ma mig 'phrul mtshungs | [30]

| chos can med pa las ni chos |
| skye ba 'di ni mthong bas na |
| yid bzhin nor ltar mta' yas pa'i |
| re ba thams cad rdzogs par[3] mdzad | [31]

| gzhon nu ma'i pra la ni |
| ma mthong ba'i rkun po mthong |
| nyi tse ba'i mig gnyis kyis |
| bskyod de bsgrub pa po yis gzigs | [32]

| gal te yod pa'i gzugs mthong na |
| bdag gi gdong pa cis mi mthong |
| gal te med pa'i gzugs mthong na |
| ri bong rwa ni ji ltar min | [33]

| mig gzhan gyis ni ma mthong zhing |
| bdag gi mig gis kyang mi mthong |
| skye ba med pa mthong ba ni |
| gzhon nu ma yi bu bzhin no | [34]

| gzugs mthong de yi 'og tu ni |
| steng dang 'og tu rtsa gsum la |
| lus ngag sems ni dgag pa'i phyir |
| rgyun mi 'chad par srogs brtsol bya | [35]

1 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *med.*
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yin.*
3 F: *bar.*

A

| zla nyi sgra gcan bshang gci dang |
| khu ba 'bab pa'i lam rnams su |
| chu me stong pa sa rlung dang[1] |
| ye shes khams rnams[2] skyed[3] rnams la | [36]

| gang zhig zla nyi mun can dang |
| bshang gci khu ba 'bab ma rnams |
| srog dang thur sel rim pa las[4] |
| lus ngag sems kyi rtsa rnams so | [37]

| zla ba thabs kyi sku yin te |
| nyin mor byed pa shes rab gsung |
| shes rab sku ni bshang ba'i rtsa |
| gci[5] ba 'bab ma gtso bo'i gsung | [38]

| steng 'og thugs kyi rtsa gnyis dag |
| mun can khu ba 'bab ma'o |
| thabs kyi thugs ni mun pa can |
| khu ba 'bab ma shes rab kyi | [39]

| steng 'og rigs drug 'di rnams ni |
| sku gsung thugs kyi rnal 'byor las |
| shes rab thabs dngos yan lag gis |
| lus can kun la yang dag gnas | [40]

| 'chi ltas lus ngag rtsa dag la |
| steng 'og lhag pa'i rlung rnams kyis |
| mun can khu ba 'bab ma la |
| skye ba dang ni 'chi ba gnas | [41]

[1] L N U: *sa dang rlung* for *sa rlung dang*.
[2] L N U: *kyi*.
[3] L N U: *ri;* T S: *skyes*.
[4] D J Q: *yis*.
[5] N U: *ci*.

| zla nyi sgra gcan dri chen dang | **B**
| dri chu sa bon 'bab pa'i lam |
| chu me stong pa sa dang rlung |
| ye shes khams rnams dag gi rigs | [36]

| gang rnams zla nyi mun can ni[1] |
| lus ngag sems kyi rtsa de rnams |
| srog dang thur sel rim pa yis |
| dri chen dri chu sa bon 'bab | [37]

| thabs kyi sku ni zla ba la |
| shes rab gsung ni nyin mor byed[2] |
| shes rab sku ni dri chen rtsa |
| dri chu 'bab pa gtso bo'i gsung | [38]

| steng 'og sems kyi rtsa gnyis ni |
| sa bon 'bab dang mun can ma |
| thabs kyi thugs ni mun pa can |
| sa bon 'bab ma shes rab kyi | [39]

| sku gsung thugs kyi rnal 'byor gyis |
| steng 'og rigs drug 'di nyid do |
| thabs dang shes rab sku dngos kyi |
| lus can rnams la yang dag gnas | [40]

| steng 'og lhag pa'i[3] rlung gis ni |
| lus ngag rtsa la mchi ltas yin |
| mun can sa bon 'bab ma las |
| skye dang 'chi ba gnas pa yin | [41]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *nyi zla mun can ni* for *zla nyi mun can ni.*
[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *nyin mo mi* for *nyin mor byed.*
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ma'i.*

A

| skye dang 'chi dang 'khrig pa yi |
| dus su khu ba 'bab pa'o |
| mun can ma yang steng du 'bab |
| nyi ma'i 'pho ba mnyam pa la[1] | [42]

| dus sbyor 'char ba'i mngon mtshams su[2] |
| dbu ma nas ni mnyam pa 'bab |
| rkang pa dang bcas lnga bcu drug |
| 'byung dang 'jug pa'o mi yi bdag | [43]

| bdun bcu rtsa lngas lhag pa yi[3] |
| drug brgya nyin dang mtshan la'o |
| drug brgya rnams kyis lhag pa yi |
| stong phrag nyi shu rtsa gcig po | [44]

| 'di yis dman pa gang de rnams |
| g.yon dang g.yas pa'i rtsar 'bab pa'o |
| phyogs gsum dang bcas lo gsum rnams |
| lo brgya rnams las dbu ma'o | [45]

| steng du g.yon g.yas zla nyi ma |
| brkyang ma lug dang ser skya gzhan |
| chu dang me yi rang bzhin can |
| padma rin chen 'dzin par 'dod | [46]

| 'og tu bshang gci 'bab pa dag |
| sa dang rlung gi rang bzhin can |
| dbu ma'i rtsa dang g.yon pa yang |
| 'khor lo ral gri 'dzin par 'dod | [47]

[1] L N S T U: *las*.
[2] L N: *mtshamsu*.
[3] L N U: *yis*.

| skye dang 'chi ba'i dus dang ni | **B**
| 'khrig la sa bon 'bab pa'o |
| nyi ma 'pho dang mnyam pa la |
| mun can ma ni steng du 'bab | [42]

| dus sbyor 'byung ba'i mngon mtshams[1] su |
| dbus ma yin ni mnyam par 'bab |
| rkang pa dang bcas lnga bcu drug |
| 'byung 'jug dbugs so mi dbang kyi | [43]

| bdun bcu rtsa lnga lhag pa yi |
| drug brgya nyin dang mtshan mo'o |
| gang yang drug brgyas lhag pa yi |
| stong phrag nyi shu rtsa gcig ste | [44]

| g.yas pa dang ni g.yon pa'i rtsa |
| de yis dman pa de rnams 'bab[2] |
| phyogs gsum dang bcas lo gsum ni |
| lo brgya yis ni dbus mar 'gyur | [45]

| steng du g.yas dang g.yon pa ni |
| nyi zla lug dang ser skya gzhan |
| chu dang me yi rang bzhin te |
| pad mar[3] rin chen 'dzin par gsungs | [46]

| 'og tu dri chen dri chu 'bab |
| sa dang rlung gi rang bzhin te |
| g.yas pa dang ni g.yon pa'i rtsa |
| 'khor lo ral gri 'dzin pa gsungs[4] | [47]

[1] F V: *'tshams.*

[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *'di yis dman pa rnams 'bab phyogs* | for | *de yis dman pa de rnams 'bab* |.

[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *padma.*

[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ni.*

A

| steng dang 'og tu dbu ma g.yas |
| sgra gcan khu ba rab 'bab pa |
| stong pa ye shes rang bzhin can |
| rdo rje rdo rje 'dzin par 'dod | [48]

| zla ba'i lam gyis bshang ba'i rtsa |
| nyi mas gci ba 'bab pa ste |
| skye 'chi mnyam pa chags pa la |
| sgra gcan khu ba rab tu 'bab | [49]

| lte[1] ba'i steng du kun 'dar ma |
| gang de yid bzang mun pa 'bab |
| 'og tu khu ba 'bab gang de |
| mkha' 'gro gdong dang dung can ma | [50]

| lte ba'i chu skyes snying mgrin dang |
| dpral ba gtsug tor 'dam skyes la |
| sa chu me rlung stong pa rnams |
| rab tu 'bab pa sdud pa yis | [51]

| 'byung 'gyur de ni 'jug pa dag |
| bskyed pas 'jug ste sa la'o |
| lte ba nas ni lte ba'i dbus |
| a ba dhū[2]tir[3] 'gro dang 'ong | [52]

[1] L N U: *zla.*
[2] L N Q U: *dhu.*
[3] D J Q S T: *ti.*

| steng gi[1] dbus ma 'og tu g.yas[2] | **B**
| sgra gcan sa bon 'bab pa la[3] |
| stong pa[4] ye shes rang bzhin te |
| rdor 'dzin rdo rje 'dzin par mdzod | [48]

| zla ba'i lam gyis[5] dri chen rtsa |
| nyi mas dri chung 'bab ma'o[6] |
| mnyam dang skye 'chi 'dod chags la |[7]
| sgra gcan sa bon 'bab ma'o[8] | [49]

| gang zhig lte steng kun 'dar ma |
| mun 'bab bzhin du[9] yid bzang ste |
| gang 'og nam mkha'i gdong de ni |
| sa bon 'bab pa'i dung can ma | [50]

| lte ba'i pad ma[10] snying mgrin dang |
| dpral ba'i gtsug gtor 'dam skyes la |
| sa chu me rlung stong pa ni |
| sdud[11] pa yis ni 'bab pa'o | [51]

| gshegs pa dang ni byon pa de |
| bskyed pa yi ni sa la 'jug |
| lte ba nas ni lte ba'i dbus |
| kun 'dar[12] mas[13] ni gshegs shing byon[14] | [52]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *du.*
[2] F V: *yang.*
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *sgra gcan dang ni sa bon 'bab* | for | *sgra gcan sa bon 'bab pa la*|.
[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa'i.*
[5] F V: *gyi.*
[6] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa'o*
[7] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *skye 'chi mnyam du 'dod chags la*| for | *mnyam dang skye 'chi 'dod chags la* |.
[8] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa'o.*
[9] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *tu.*
[10] F Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *padma.*
[11] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bsdus.*
[12] F V: *dar.*
[13] F V: *ma.*
[14] In Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *byong zhing gshegs* for *gshegs shing byon.*

A

| lte gsang nor bu'i chu skyes la |
| lus ngag sems rnams 'bab pa ni |
| 'byung dang de ni 'jug pa dag |
| sdud dang skyed[1] pa'i rang bzhin can | [53]

| dung can skye bo thams cad kyi |
| thur sel rlung ni 'bab pa'o |
| 'di rnams bud med bde ba las |
| khu ba khrag 'bab dus dag tu | [54]

| shes rab thabs dngos yan lag gis |
| steng du g.yas dang g.yon dag dang |
| 'og tu bshang gci 'bab pa dang |
| rdul dang khu ba 'bab pa dag | [55]

| rdul 'bab phyir te[2] gtum mo ste |
| khu ba 'bab phyir mkha' 'gro gdong |
| steng du brjod dus bud med kyi |
| g.yung mo skyes bu'i kun 'dar ma[3] | [56]

| rnam shes la sogs dkyil 'khor lnga |
| rtag tu g.yon pa'i rtsa la'o |
| sa sogs g.yas pa'i rtsa la ste |
| dbus su drug pa 'bab pa'o | [57]

| lte ba'i padma 'i 'dab[4] ma la |
| dkyil 'khor drug cu[5] rnams rim bzhin |
| g.yon dang g.yas pa'i dus sbyor ni |
| lug sogs glang la sogs pa la | [58]

[1] L N T U: *bskyed.*
[2] D J L N S T U: *de.*
[3] D J Q: *ma'o.*
[4] J T: *mdab.*
[5] J Q: *bcu.*

| lte gsang nor bu'i pad ma la | **B**
| lus ngag sems ni 'bab ma ste |
| gshegs pa dang ni byon pa de |
| sdud[1] dang skyed[2] pa'i gzugs can ma | [53]

| skyes bu kun la dung can ma |
| thur sel rlung ni 'bab par byed |
| 'di ni bud med bde ba yis |
| sa bon dus su khrag 'bab ma | [54]

| thab dang shes rab sku dngos kyis[3] |
| steng du g.yas dang g.yon pa'o |
| 'og tu dri chen dri chu 'bab |
| rdul dang sa bon 'bab pa'o[4] | [55]

| rdul 'bab phyir na gtum mo[5] ste |
| sa bon 'bab phyir nam mkha'i gdong |
| steng du rigs ngan bud med la |
| skyes bu la ni kun 'dar[6] brjod | [56]

| sna khung g.yon pa'i rtsa la ni |
| rnam shes la sogs dkyil 'khor lnga |
| g.yas pa'i rtsa la sogs te |
| dbus su drug la[7] 'bab pa'o | [57]

| lte ba'i pad ma[8]'i 'dab[9] ma la |
| dkyil 'khor drug bcu rim pa bzhin |
| dus sbyor g.yas dang g.yon pa la |
| lug sogs khyu mchog la sogs pa'o[10] | [58]

1 F V: *bsdud.*
2 F Ṭ(Q): *bskyed.*
3 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *sku'i tshul* for *sku dngos kyis.*
4 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ni.*
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *tsaṇḍali* for *gtum mo.*
6 F V: *dar;* Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *spangs.*
7 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa.*
8 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *padma.*
9 F V: *mdab.*
10 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *sogs so* for *sogs pa'o.*

A

| rtsa ba g.yon dang de nas g.yas |
| steng dang dbus su rim pas rlung |
| sa sogs dkyil 'khor re re zhing |
| dbyug gus sna bug dag la'o | [59]

| rim pas chu tshod 'bab pa ni |
| drug cu[1] dang bcas sum brgya'i dbugs |
| brgya phrag bco[2] brgyad dbugs de rnams |
| chu tshod lngar ni 'bab pa'o | [60]

| chu tshod drug cu[3] nyin mtshan du |
| lus la dkyil 'khor rnams zhes pa'o |
| 'dab[4] ma'i dbus dang de nas shar |
| g.yas g.yon gzhan du rim pa yis | [61]

| g.yon par rtag tu nam mkha' sogs |
| g.yas par sa sogs gzhan las so |
| g.yon par rnam shes sogs 'byung ba |
| g.yas par sa sogs sdud pa'o | [62]

| nub dang shar du 'dzin ma rlung |
| phan tshun shes rab thabs yin te |
| mthe bong ming med dag gis ni |
| gang phyir kha la dbang bskur ba | [63]

| g.yas dang g.yon du me dang chu |
| phan tshun shes rab thabs yin te |
| gung mo mdzub mo gnyis dag gis |
| gang phyir ral grir 'gyur ba'o | [64]

[1] J Q: *bcu.*
[2] D J Q U: *bcwo.*
[3] J Q: *bcu.*
[4] J L T U: *mdab.*

| rtsa ba g.yon dang de nas g.yas |
| steng dang dbus su rim pas rlung |
| dkyil 'khor re re'i dbyug gu las |
| sa sogs sna bug dag la'o | [59]

| drug bcur bcas pa'i sum brgya'i dbugs |
| rtsa ni rim pas 'bab pa'o |
| stong dang brgyad brgya'i dbugs rnams ni |
| rtsa lnga po yis de rnams 'bab | [60]

| drug bcu'i rtsa ni nyin mtshan du |
| lus can la ni dkyil 'khor zhes |[1]
| 'dab ma'i dbus dang de nas shar |
| g.yas g.yon nub tu[2] rim pas rlung | [61]

| g.yon par[3] rtag par mkha' sogs te |
| g.yas la sa sogs gzhan ma'o |
| g.yon du srid par rnam shes sogs |
| g.yas su sa sogs bsdus[4] pa'o | [62]

| nub dang shar du sa dang rlung |
| phan tshun thabs dang shes rab ste |
| mthe bong dang ni ming med kyis |
| gang gis kha la dbang bskur ro[5] | [63]

| g.yas dang g.yon du me dang chu |
| phan tshun thabs dang shes rab ste[6] |
| 'dzub mo dang ni gung mo yis |
| gang phyir ral gri 'gyur ba'o | [64]

1 Ṭ(D)Ṭ(Q): *lus can rnams la dkyil 'khor ni* for *lus can la ni dkyil 'khor zhes.*
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *g.yas dang g.yon du* for *g.yas g.yon nub tu.*
3 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *la.*
4 F V: *bsdud.*
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *phyir.*
6 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *po.*

A

| zla phyed rnam pa'i phyag rgya ni |
| mche ba gri gug mthe chung ste |
| stong pa mi 'gyur steng 'og tu |
| phan tshun thabs dang shes rab po[1] | [65]

| dkyil 'khor bcu po yang dag sbyor |
| sor mo rnams ni phan tshun du |
| mgo bor lag mthil sbyar ba la |
| gri gug dang bcas rtse gcig go | [66]

| dbu ma'i rtsa la mnyam pa ste[2] |
| skyed[3] dang sdud pa'i byed pa po |
| phung po khams dang rdo rje gsum |
| gcig nyid dbu mar son pa na'o | [67]

| zla ba nyi ma'i rtsa 'gags na |
| bshang ba gci ba'i rtsa 'gag go |
| sgra gcan rtsa ni 'gags pa na |
| 'og tu khu ba 'bab 'gags 'gyur | [68]

| skyed[4] dang sdud pa'i byed pa can |
| 'di rnams grol na grol bar 'gyur |
| srog dang thur sel lam gsum gyis[5] |
| 'di ni rtsa yi kun spyod do | [69]

| g.yon pa 'am ni g.yas pa la |
| mtshan mo gcig dang de bzhin lngar |
| lhag pa'i rlung ni rab 'bab pa |
| de las lo gsum na 'chi[6] 'o | [70]

[1] S D: *bo.*
[2] D J L: *de.*
[3] L N T U: *bskyed.*
[4] L N T U: *bskyed.*
[5] D J L: *gyi.*
[6] N U: *mchi.*

| phyag rgya zla ba phyed pa'i tshul | **B**
| mche ba mthe[1] chung gri gug ste |
| stong pa mi 'gyur steng 'og tu |
| phan tshun thabs dang shes rab po | [65]

| sor mo rnams ni phan tshun du |
| dkyil 'khor bcu ni yang dag sbyor[2] |
| spyi bor thal mo sbyar ba yis |
| gri gug dang bcas rtse gcig po | [66]

| skyed[3] pa dang ni sdud[4] byed pa'o |
| mnyam pa de yang dbus ma'i rtsar |
| phung po khams dang[5] rdo rje gsum |
| dbu mar song nas gcig tu 'gyur | [67]

| zla ba nyi ma'i rtsa 'gags na |
| dri chen dri chu'i rtsa 'gag go |
| sgra gcan rsta ni 'gags 'gyur na[6] |
| 'og gi sa bon 'gag[7] ma'o | [68]

| 'di grol na ni kun grol 'gyur[8] |
| skyed pa dang ni sdud[9] byed ma |
| srog dang thur sel lam gsum gyis |
| rtsa rnams kun spyod 'di yin no | [69]

| g.yas pa'm[10] ni g.yon pa la |
| nyin mtshan lnga dang de bzhin gcig |[11]
| rlung ni rab tu 'bab pa na |
| de nas lo gsum gyis 'chi 'gyur | [70]

1 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mthe'u.*
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yang bya'o* for *yang dag sbyor.*
3 F V Ṭ(Q): *bskyed.*
4 F V: *bsdud*; Ṭ(Q): *bdud.*
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ni.*
6 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'gag yin no* for *'gags 'gyur na.*
7 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'bab.*
8 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *grol na 'di rnams grol bar 'gyur* | for | *'di grol na ni kun grol 'gyur*|.
9 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bsdud.*
10 F V: *g.yas pa dag* for *g.yas pa'm.*
11 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *nyin mtshan gcig dang g.yas nga yis* | for | *nyin mtshan lnga dang de bzhin gcig* |.

A

| g.yas pa nyi ma'i 'chi ltas la |
| lnga dang phyogs tshes nyi shu dang |
| de nyid gcig lhag gzhan rim pas |
| nyin zhag sum[1] cu[2] gsum rgyu na | [71]

| gsum gnyis gcig lo zla ba ni |
| drug gsum zung zla nyin zhag tshes |
| phyogs lnga yon tan gnyis gcig gis |
| lus can rnams kyi tshe 'gro'o | [72]

| rtsa ba nas gcig lhag pa yis |
| g.yon par zla ba'i rgyu bar 'gyur |
| nyin zla nyin zhag zla ba dag |
| nyin zhag gsum rnams zla ba gsum | [73]

| nyin la 'chi ltas zla bar dge |
| 'phel 'grib de nas 'di dag la |
| dbu ma'i 'chi ba'i rgyu ba ni |
| lo brgya yongs su[3] rdzogs pa yis | [74]

| mnyam dang mi mnyam nyin zhag rnams |
| skye bar skyes pa'i dkyil 'khor gyis |
| de rgyu g.yas dang g.yon la yang |
| phyogs gnyis rnam par nyams pa las | [75]

| gzhan du 'chi bar mi 'gyur te |
| phyogs gnyis yang dag gnas pa na |
| g.yas dang g.yon pa'i kun spyod dang |
| dkyil 'khor lnga rnams 'bab pa'i phyir | [76]

[1] D Q U: *gsum.*
[2] J Q: *bcu.*
[3] L N: *yongsu.*

| lnga phyogs tshes dang nyi shu dang | **B**
| de nyid rim pas re res lhag |
| nyi ma sum bcu gsum gnas pas |
| g.yas pa'i nyi ma'i 'chi ltas so | [71]

| lo gsum gnyis gcig mnyam zla ba |
| drug gsum zung zla nyi ma ni |
| tshes phyogs lnga dang yon tan gnyis |
| gcig gis lus can tshe 'gro 'gyur | [72]

| rtsa ba gnas ni re re lhag |
| g.yon du[1] zla ba 'byung bar 'gyur |
| zhag dang zhag gis zla ba ste |
| zla gnyis can gyis zhag gsum mo | [73]

| 'chi ltas zhag dang dge zla ba |
| de dag 'phel dang 'grib pa yin[2] |
| lo brgya yongs su rdzogs pa yis |
| dbus ma la ni 'chi bar 'gyur | [74]

| mnyam dang mi mnyam zhin zhag gis |[3]
| de skyes nas ni dkyil 'khor 'byung |
| phyogs gnyis rnam par nyams pa'i phyir |
| g.yas dang g.yon pa dag las 'byung | [75]

| gzhan du na ni 'chi ba med[4] |
| phyogs gnyis yang dag gnas pa na[5] |
| g.yas dang g.yon du kun du spyod |
| dkyil 'khor lnga ni 'bab pa yin |[6] [76]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *gyi.*
[2] Quarters 73 c,d and 74 a,b omitted in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q).
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *mnyam dang mi mnyam pa yis ni* | for | *mnyam dang mi mnyam zhin zhag gis*|.
[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yin.*
[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dang.*
[6] Quarter 76 c,d omitted in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q).

A

| 'chi ltas mtshan nyid shes nas ni |
| srog ni thig ler gzhug par bya |
| a ba dhū[1] ti[2] 'i zhabs brten nas |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgom par bya | [77]

| rtag tu rdo rje bslang bar bya |
| zla nyi'i bgrod pa 'joms pa las |
| gzhan du kun 'dar yan lag la |
| srog gi rlung ni 'jug pa med | [78]

| 'og tu 'ang dung can ma thur sel |
| de ma zhugs las 'chi ba'o |
| 'chi ltas slu[3] ba rnal 'byor pa'i |
| 'di ni dga' ba rnams kyis 'gyur | [79]

| mgo bo'i padma gtsug tor[4] las |
| khu ba 'ongs pa dga' ba ste |
| 'grin pa snying khar mchog dga' 'o |
| dga' bral dga' ba de nas 'gyur | [80]

| sna tshogs dga' ba lte ba dang |
| gsang ba'i padmar gang 'ongs pa'o |
| gsang gnas rdo rje nor bu'i bar |
| lhan gcig[5] skyes dga' mi 'pho ba | [81]

| rab gnas mya ngan 'das pa min |
| chags chen mi 'gyur khyab bdag po |
| 'dod chags bral las 'pho med bde |
| de ni mya ngan 'das[6] rab gnas | [82]

[1] L N U: *dhu.*
[2] D J Q S: *tī.*
[3] J T: *bslu.*
[4] J Q: *gtor*
[5] J L T U: *cig.*
[6] L N U: *las.*

| 'chi[1] ltas mtshan nyid shes byas la | **B**
| srog ni thig ler gzhug[2] par bya |
| kun spangs go 'phang brten byas la |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgom par bya | [77]

| nyi zlar 'gro ba gzhom pa'i phyir |
| rtag par rdo rje bslang bar bya |
| gzhan du na ni kun spangs[3]char[4] |
| srog gi rlung ni 'jug pa med | [78]

| 'og tu dung can thur sel ni |
| de[5] ma zhugs na 'chi ba yin |
| 'chi ba blu ba 'di nyid ni |
| rnal 'byor rnams la dga' bas bya[6] | [79]

| gtsug gtor steng gi pad ma[7] las |
| shu bkra byung na dga' ba yin |
| mgrin pa snying kha mchog dga' ba |
| de nas rnam par dga' bar 'gyur |[8] [80]

| sna tshogs dga' ba lte ba la |
| gal te gsang ba'i pad mar[9] song |
| gsang gnas rdo rje nor bu'i bar |
| lhan cig skyes dga' mi 'pho ba | [81]

| rab tu mi gnas mya ngan 'das |
| chags chen mi 'gyur mnga' bdag go |
| dga' bral las ni bde 'pho gang |
| mya ngan 'das la de rab gnas[10] | [82]

[1] F V: *'di.*
[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *zhugs.*
[3] F V: *spong.*
[4] F V: *'char.*
[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *der*
[6] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dga' bar 'gyur* for *dga' bas bya.*
[7] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *padma.*
[8] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *de yang dga' bral dga' bar 'gyur* | for | *de nas rnam par dga' bar 'gyur* |.
[9] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *padmar.*
[10] In Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bde ba'i gnas* for *de rab gnas.*

A

| khu ba zla 'char gtsug tor du |
| rdzogs pa gsang ba'i mtsho skyes la |
| bcu drug cha gang de nor bu'i |
| padmar rdo rje'i rtse mor gnas | [83]

| de steng 'pho ba'i dus su 'gyur |
| nag po'i tshes gcig 'ongs pa na |
| 'dod chags bral bas gnam stong la |
| nyi ma mdzod spu'i gnas su 'gro | [84]

| de yi cha shas bcu drug la[1] |
| gtsug tor padmar son pa'o |
| zla ba nyams pa zhes brjod de |
| chags pa'i bde la chags bral phyir | [85]

| lus can thams cad 'chi ba na |
| zla ba bdud rtsi 'og tu 'gro |
| steng du nyi ma rdul sgra gcan |
| rnam shes dngos po'i mtshan nyid la | [86]

| de phyir zla ba bdud rtsi ni |
| steng du bgrod bya mi yi bdag |
| 'og tu nyi ma rdul sgra gcan |
| rnam shes 'gyur med bde ba la | [87]

[1] J Q: *ma*.

| sa bon zla ba gtsug tor[1] shar | **B**
| gsang ba'i chu skyes dag la rdzogs |
| cha ni bcu drug pa[2] gang de[3] |
| rdo rje nor bu[4] pad rtser song | [83]

| de 'og 'pho ba'i dus yin te |
| nag po'i tshes gcig 'ong nas so[5] |
| stong la dga' ba bral ba yis |
| nyi ma mdzod spur 'gro bar 'gyur | [84]

| de yi cha ni bcu drug ma |
| gtsug tor[6] pad mar[7] song bas na |
| 'dir[8] ni zla ba zad par brjod |
| 'dod chags bde ba bral phyir ro | [85]

| lus can thams cad 'chi ba na |
| zla ba bdud rtsi thur du 'gro |
| steng du nyi rdul sgra gcan[9] dang |
| rnam shes srid pa'i mtshan nyid do | [86]

| de bas zla ba[10] bdud rsi'i steng[11] |
| 'gro bar bya'o rgyal po skye[12] |
| 'og tu nyi rdul sgra gcan[13] dang |
| rnam shes mi 'gyur bde ba'o | [87]

1 F V: *gtor.*
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ma.*
3 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ste.*
4 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bu'i.*
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'byung ba yin* for *'ong nas so.*
6 F V: *gtor.*
7 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *padmar.*
8 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'di.*
9 F V: *dgra can* for *sgra gcan.*
10 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ba'i.*
11 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) : *ste.*
12 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *kye.*
13 F V: *dgra can* for *sgra gcan.*

A

| sangs rgyas kun gyi mdzod spu[1] yi |
| padmar zla ba bdud rtsi nya |
| nyi rdul gnam stong gsang bar te |
| gtsug tor nor bur de dag go | [88]

| zhes[2] pa ston pa'i rdo rje'i tshig |
| lus can kun gyi phyin ci log |
| rab gnas mya ngan 'das pa min |
| khams rnams phyin ci log tu 'gyur | [89]

| nor bur thugs dang gsang bar gsung |
| lte bar sku ste bde chen las |
| chos dang longs spyod rdzogs sprul pa |
| 'di rnams dag pa'i sku las spro | [90]

| thabs kyi 'og tu rgyal po'i dbang |
| shes rab kyi ni steng du 'gyur |
| 'di yi dpral bar sku rdo rje |
| mgrin snying lte ba'i 'dam skyes la | [91]

| gsung thugs ye shes rdo rje rnams |
| sprul pa la sogs 'di rnams spro |
| phung po khams rnams spro ba ni |
| sgrib pa med pa'i bde ba las | [92]

[1] L N T U: *pu.*
[2] L N T U: *ces.*

| mdzod spu chu skyes sangs rgyas kun | **B**
| zla ba'i bdud rtsi nya bzhin no[1] |
| nyi rdul gnam stong gsang ba la |
| gtsug gtor nor bu de nyid 'char | [88]

| ston pa'i rdo rje tshig 'di ni |
| lus can rnams la phyin ci log |
| mi gnas mya ngan 'das pa yis[2] |
| khams rnams phyin cig log tu 'gyur | [89]

| nor bur thugs dang gsang bar gsung |
| lte bar sku ni bde chen phyin |
| dag pa'i sku las spro ba[3]ni |
| chos dang longs spyod sprul pa 'di[4] | [90]

| 'og tu thabs 'gyur rgyal po kye |
| steng du shes rab dag tu 'gyur |
| dpral bar sku'i rdo rje yin |
| mgrin snyin lte ba'i 'dam[5] skyes la | [91]

| gsung thugs ye shes rdo rje ni |[6]
| sprul sogs 'di rnams sprul par mdzad |
| phung po khams rnams spro ba[7] ni |
| sgrib pa med pa'i[8] bde ba'o[9] | [92]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yin zhin* for *bzhin no.*
[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yin.*
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *spros pa* for *spro ba.*
[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yi.*
[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'dab.*
[6] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *sku gsung ye shes rdo rje thugs* | for | *gsung thugs ye shes rdo rje ni* |.
[7] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *spros pas* for *spro ba.*
[8] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pas.*
[9] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yi.*

A | las kyi phyag rgya'i snyoms 'jug dang |
| ye shes phyag rgya'i dmigs pa dang |
| phyag rgya chen po gcig sbyor bas |
| mi 'gyur ba de 'phel bar 'gyur | [93]

| 'phel ba'i 'phel bar 'gyur ba med |
| nyams pa'i nyams pa nyid kyang med |
| nub pa de yi nub pa med |
| 'char ba yi ni 'char ba med | [94]

| rab tu gsal ba'i rab gsal med |
| bkab pa'i bkab pa yang med do |
| skye ba'i skye bar 'gyur nyid med |
| 'chi ba'i 'chi ba yang med do | [95]

| grol ba'i grol bar 'gyur ba 'ang[1] med |
| mi gnas pa yi mi gnas med |
| dngos po med pa'i dngos med med |
| dngos po'i dngos po nyid kyang med | [96]

| 'gyur ba'i 'gyur bar 'gyur ba 'ang med |
| mi 'gyur ba'i yang mi 'gyur med[2] |
| rang bzhin med pa'i chos rnams kyi |
| skye 'jig sgyu ma de bzhin no | [97]

| 'byung rnams 'jig par 'gyur min te |
| rang bzhin nyid kyis skye mi 'gyur |
| sna tshogs 'di ni rang bzhin med |
| dngos po dngos med mtshan nyid gcig[3] | [98]

[1] L U: *omit 'ang.*
[2] L N T U: *omit med*
[3] L N U: *cig.*

| las kyi phyag rgya'i snyoms 'jug dang | **B**
| ye shes phyag rgya sogs dmigs dang[1] |
| phyag rgya chen po gcig sbyor bas |
| mi 'gyur ba ni 'phel bar 'gyur |[2] [93]

| 'phel ba las ni 'phel ba med |
| zad pa las ni zad pa med |
| nub pa las ni nub pa med |[3] [94]

| gsal ba las ni gsal ba med |
| btsum pa las ni btsum pa med |
| skye ba las ni skye ba med |
| shi ba las ni shi ba med | [95]

| grol ba las ni grol ba med |
| mi gnas pa la mi gnas med |
| dngos med pa la dngos med min |
| dngos po las ni dngos med nyid | [96]

| 'gyur ba las ni 'gyur ba med |
| mi 'gyur ba las mi 'gyur med |
| chos rnams rang bzhin med pa ni |
| sgyu ma 'byung dang zad bzhin no | [97]

| 'byung ba zad par mi 'gyur te |
| rang bzhin gyis ni skye ba med |
| dngos dang dngos med[4] mtshan nyid cig |
| sna tshogs 'di ni mtshan nyid bral | [98]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *phyag rgya'i dmigs pa dang* for *phyag rgya sogs dmigs dang*.

[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *'phel bar 'gyur dang mi 'gyur ba'o* | for | *mi 'gyur ba ni 'phel bar 'gyur* |.

[3] Pāda 94d is missing in all the witnesses.

[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *min*.

A

| rang gi shes rab la 'khyud sems |
| rdo rje nor bu'i padmar son |
| der son zla ba g.yo ba dang[1] |
| mi g.yo ba dang mi 'gyur bsgom[2] | [99]

| lus ngag sems kyi rtsa rnams su |
| sku gsung thugs rnams bsgom[3] pa ste |
| rdo rje gsum rnams legs bsdus pa |
| ye shes dung can mar bsgom[4] pa'o | [100]

| shes rab chags pas zhu ba yi |
| thig le rim pas mgo bo las |
| rdzogs pa'i gnas su zhugs rnams kyang |
| 'ching ba dam pa'i don gyis so | [101]

| ji ltar zla shar rim pa yis |
| cha rnams kyis ni rdzogs par 'gyur |
| grib ma nyams pa rdzogs pa ste |
| zla ba chad dang rdzogs pa min | [102]

| de bzhin ye shes shar rim pas |
| sa rnams kyis ni rdzogs par 'gyur |
| nyon mongs la sogs nyams pa rdzogs |
| ye shes chad dang rdzogs pa min | [103]

[1] L N U: *med.*
[2] L N S T U: *sgom.*
[3] L N S T U: *sgom.*
[4] L N S T U: *sgom.*

| rang gi shes rab la mkhyud sems | **B**
| rdo rje nor bu'i pad mar[1] song |[2]
| de la zla ba 'thun 'gyur nas |
| mi 'gyur bsgom pa[3]rgyu 'thun no | [99]

| lus ngag sems kyi rtsa rnams la |
| lus ngag sems ni bsgom par bya |
| rdo rje gsum ni bsdus pa yis |[4]
| dung can ma la ye shes bsgom | [100]

| mgo bo las ni rims pa yis |
| shes rab chags pas thig le zhu[5] |
| rdzogs pa'i go 'phang zhugs rnams la |
| don dam par[6] ni bcing bar bya | [101]

| rim pa ji ltar zla ba shar |
| cha rnams kyis ni rdzogs par 'gyur |
| 'phel 'grib grib ma'i dbang gis te[7] |
| zla ba chad dang rdzogs pa min | [102]

| de bzhin rim pas[8] ye shes 'char[9] |
| sa rnams kyis[10] ni rdzogs par 'gyur |
| nyon mongs la sogs bcom rdzogs pa[11] |
| ye shes chad pa[12] rdzogs pa min | [103]

1 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *padmar.*
2 In Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *pad mar rdo rje nor bu song* | for | *rdo rje nor bu'i pad mar song* |.
3 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mi mthun bsgoms pas* for *mi 'gyur bsgom pa.*
4 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *rdo rje gsung ni sdud pa po* | for | *rdo rje gsum ni bsdus pa yis*|.
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *zhugs.*
6 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pas.*
7 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): omit 102c.
8 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa.*
9 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *shar.*
10 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dag.*
11 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bcom pas rdzogs* for *bcom rdzogs pa.*
12 F V: *cha dang* for *chad pa.*

A | ji ltar ri bong mtshan mas dbus |
| rdzogs par ri bong can mi gnas |
| de bzhin 'gyur med bde bar sems |
| 'khor ba'i bag chags mtshan ma yis | [104]

| skyed[1] dang rab tu nyams pa'i phyogs |
| dkar po nag po rab tu gnas |
| de dag dbus su rdzogs pa gang |
| de ni rdzogs par mi gnas so | [105]

| skad cig gcig mngon rdzogs sangs rgyas |
| rdzogs pa la ni g.yo mi 'gyur |
| gang tshe rdo rje nor bur sems |
| de ni skad cig thams cad rdzogs | [106]

| dkar po'i phyogs la 'di mi gnas |
| res 'ga' dkar min la mi 'gro |
| phyogs gnyis po yi dbus gnas pa |
| rdzogs pa la gnas gnyis su med | [107]

| gtsug tor las ni shar ba de'i |
| rdo rje nor bur rdzogs par 'gyur |
| de chags bral las cha nyams pa |
| rdo rje nas nyams la rab rdzogs | [108]

[1] L N S T U: *bskyed.*

| dbus su ri bong gis mtshan ltar |[1]
| nya la ri bong can mi gnas |
| 'khor ba'i bag chags kyis[2] mtshan pas |
| mi 'gyur bde la de bzhin sems | [104]

| skye ba dang ni 'jig pa'i phyogs |
| yar ngo mar ngo bar du gnas[3] |
| de gnyis dbus su rdzogs pa gang |
| rdzogs pa de ni rab mi gnas | [105]

| skad cig gcig gis rdzogs sangs rgyas |
| rdzogs pa la ni g. yo[4] mi 'gyur |
| gang zhig rdo rje nor bur[5] sems |
| skad cig thams cad de[6] rdzogs byed | [106]

| dkar po'i phyogs la 'di[7] mi gnas |
| dkar min la yang de[8] mi 'gro |
| gnyis med rdzogs pa la song na |
| phyogs gnyis po'i[9] dbus su gnas | [107]

| gtsug tor[10] las ni byung ba de |
| rdo rje nor bur[11] rdzogs par 'gyur |
| dga' bral bcas pas[12] cha bcom pa |
| rdo rje nas ni rdzogs pa bcom[13] | [108]

1 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *zla ba yongs su rdzogs pa yin* | for | *dbus su ri bong gis mtshan ltar* |.

2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *kyi*.

3 F V omit verse 105a,b.

4 F V: *yongs*.

5 F V: *bu*.

6 F V: *der*.

7 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *de*.

8 F V: *dkar min pa la yi* for *dkar min la yang de*.

9 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa yi*.

10 F V: *gtor*.

11 F V: *bu*.

12 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa'i*.

13 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'joms*.

A

| slar yang gtsug tor du shar ba |
| slar yang rdo rje nor bur rdzogs |
| de chags bral las cha nyams pa |
| lus can ye shes nyams pa min | [109]

| 'di yi bde ba che rang bzhin |
| rdzogs pa'i sgra yis brjod par bya |
| dngos po bar ma gzhan thams cad |
| 'byung dang sdud pa'i rgyu yin no | [110]

| srid las mya ngan 'das par 'gro |
| de las slar yang srid par 'ong |
| rang phyogs dag las zla bzhin dang |
| bgrod pa dag las snang byed bzhin | [111]

| rdzogs par mi g.yo ba 'di ni |
| sa rnams kyis ni yongs rdzogs nyid |
| nyi khri brgyad gnyis brgya yi dbugs |
| 'gyur med skad cig zos rnams kyis | [112]

| phyogs gnyis yang dag gnon pa ni |
| sa rnams kyis ni yongs su rdzogs |
| bden don rnam pa bcu gnyis pa |
| rnam pa bcu drug 'gyur ba med | [113]

| slar yang gtsug tor las byung ba |[1] **B**
| slar yang[2] rdo rje nor bur[3] rdzogs |
| dga' bral bcas pas[4] cha bcom pa |
| lus can ye shes bcom pa min | [109]

| bde ba chen po'i rang bzhin 'di |
| rdzogs pa'i sgra yis brjod par bya |
| gzhan ma dngos po'i mtha' kun ni |
| skyed[5] pa dang ni sdud[6] byed rgyu | [110]

| srid nas mya ngan 'das par gshegs |
| de nas slar yang srid par byong |
| rang phyogs gnyis la zla bzhin dang |
| bgrod pa gnyis la[7] nyi[8] bzhin no | [111]

| rdzogs pa mi g.yo ba 'di ni |[9]
| mi 'gyur skad[10] cig gis zos[11] pa'i |
| dbugs ni nyi khri chig stong dang |
| drug brgya yis ni lhag pa yis | [112]

| sa rnams kyis ni yongs rdzogs so[12] |
| phyogs gnyis yang dag mnan[13] pa ni |
| sa rnams kyis ni yongs su rdzogs[14] |
| bden don rnam pa bcu gnyis ldan | [113]

1 F V omits 109a.
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yang na.*
3 F V: *bu.*
4 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa'i.*
5 F V: *bskyed.*
6 F V: *bsdud.*
7 F V: *pa.*
8 F V: *nyid.*
9 In Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *rdzogs la mi g.yo ba'i dpe ni* | for | *rdzogs pa mi g.yo ba 'di ni* |.
10 F V: *ska.*
11 F V: *thos.*
12 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yongs rdzogs nyid* for *yongs rdzogs so.*
13 F V Ṭ(Q): *gnas.*
14 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yongs rdzogs na* for *yongs su rdzogs.*

A

| rnam pa bcu gnyis sa rnams kyis |
| rdzogs pa gnyis su med pa mchog |
| cha shas rnams kyis rdzogs pa'i sems |
| rnam pa bcu drug mi 'gyur ba | [114]

| don gcig gnyis su med pa chos |
| dam pa'i don te 'jigs pa med |
| rdzogs pa'i gnas skabs son pa'i sems |
| kun nas rab tu rdzogs pa'o | [115]

| chags bral dang po chags pa che |
| rdo rje lus med mi 'gyur che |
| yongs su rdzogs pa phyogs gnyis kyi[1] |
| bag chags rnams kyis ma mkhyud pa'o | [116]

| ji ltar chu bo'i chu zhugs pa |
| de ni rgya mtshor chur mtshungs pa |
| de bzhin dngos po'i tshogs 'di ni[2] |
| 'gyur ba med par 'gyur med mtshungs | [117]

| ji ltar khams kyi tshogs pa 'di[3] |
| zos pa las ni ro nyid 'gyur |
| sa bon rang bzhin sa bon gyis |
| 'bras bu'i dus su nga rgyal spangs | [118]

| de ltar dngos po'i tshogs pa yang |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur zos pa yis |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur ba nyid 'gyur |
| rnam pa thams cad rang bzhin 'dzin | [119]

[1] L N U: *kyis.*
[2] D J S T: *de.*
[3] D J: *'dis.*

| rnam pa bcu gnyis sa rnams kyis | **B**
| rdzogs nas[1] gnyis su med pa'i mchog |
| cha rnams kyis ni rdzogs pa'i sems |
| rnam pa bcu drug mi 'gyur ba | [114]

| don gcig gnyis su med pa'i sems |
| don dam pa ni mi mnyam pa |
| rdzogs pa'i gnas skabs sems 'gyur na |
| kun nas rab tu rdzogs pa yin | [115]

| chags bral dang po chags pa che |
| rdo rje yan lag mi 'gyur che |
| phyogs gnyis pa yi bag chags kyis |
| yongs su gang ba ma 'dres pa | [116]

| ji ltar rgya mtshor chu bo'i chu |
| zhugs nas chu de dang mnyam 'gyur |
| de bzhin du ni dngos po'i tshogs |
| 'gyur ba de ni mi 'gyur mnyam | [117]

| ji ltar khams kyi tshogs 'di ni |
| sa bon gyis zos ro nyid 'gyur |
| sa bon rang bzhin nyid du ni |
| 'bras bu'i dus su nga rgyal spangs | [118]

| de ltar dngos po'i tshogs kyang ni |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bas[2] zos na |
| rnam pa thams cad rang bzhin 'dzin |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur nyid du 'gyur | [119]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa.*
[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ba.*

A

| mche ba'i tshor ba sdug bsngal ni |
| dug rdzogs gnas skabs gyur pa na |
| rma la rig min gzhan du min |
| yul rnams[1] dbang po'i sgo rnams kyis | [120]

| de bzhin rnal 'byor dam pa'i bde |
| sems rdzogs char gyur na rdo rje |
| nor bur rig min gzhan du min |
| yul rnams dbang po'i sgo rnams kyis | [121]

| ji ltar ro chen lcags rnams kyi[2] |
| phyogs gcig yang dag gnas pa ni |
| lcags la drag po'i mes gdungs na |
| kun nas kun tu 'bigs par byed | [122]

| de bzhin nyid du 'gyur med bde |
| phyogs gcig yang dag gnas pa yang |
| sems la 'dod pa'i mes gdungs na |
| kun nas kun tu 'bigs par byed | [123]

| ji ltar phug pa'i lcags rnams ni |
| 'ga' zhig tu[3] yang dri ma med |
| de bzhin du ni phug pa'i sems |
| 'ga' zhig tu yang bag chags med | [124]

| lcags ni gser nyid du gyur pa |
| me yis dri ma med par 'gyur |
| de bzhin yang dang yang du sems |
| 'dod chags me yis dri ma med | [125]

[1] D J Q: *dang*.
[2] Q T: *kyis*.
[3] L N U: *du*.

| mche rma'i tshor ba'i sdug bsngal ni | **B**
| gzhan du nad pas rig med la |
| dug[1] rdzogs gnas skabs gyur na ni |
| dbang po'i sgo yi yul ma yin | [120]

| de bzhin rnal 'byor rdor nor bur |
| gzhan du dam pa'i bde rig min |
| sems ni rdzogs pa'i char gyur na |
| dbang po'i sgo yi yul la min | [121]

| ji ltar lcags kyi phyogs cig[2] na |
| ro bcud chen po yang dag gnas |
| lcags la drag po'i mes gdungs na |
| kun nas kun du 'bigs par byed | [122]

| de bzhin du ni phyogs gcig na |
| mi 'gyur bde ba yang dag gnas |
| sems ni 'dod chags mes[3] gdungs[4] na |
| kun nas kun du 'bigs par byed | [123]

| de ltar phug pa'i lcags la ni |
| gang du yang ni dri ma med |
| de bzhin phug pa'i sems la ni |
| gang du 'ang bag chags yod pa min[5] | [124]

| gser nyid du ni lcags bsgyur la |
| me yis[6] dri ma med par 'gyur[7] |
| de bzhin sems ni yang nas yang |
| 'dod chags me yis[8] dri med 'gyur | [125]

1 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *kun.*
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *gcig.*
3 F V: *sems.*
4 F V: *gdugs.*
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) *:g.yo ba* for *yod pa.*
6 Ṭ(Q) V: *me'i* for *me yis.*
7 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) *dri med 'gyur ba ltar* for *dri ma med par 'gyur.*
8 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) *med ni* for *me yis.*

A | ji ltar nor bu che reg las |
| rdo ni rab tu 'bar bar 'gyur |
| de bzhin 'gyur med bde reg las |
| sems ni bde ba nyid du 'gyur | [126]

|'dir ni mang po brjod pas ci |
| 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa yis[1] |
| lcags rnams rab tu 'bigs[2] byed pa |
| ro yi mthu ni brtag bya min | [127]

| ci zhig slar yang don dam pas |
| glo[3] bur dri mas g.yogs pa yi[4] |
| sems ni rab tu 'bigs byed pa |
| ye shes mthu ni brtag bya min | [128]

| sems la glo bur dri ma med |
| sems las yun ring dus can min |
| sems med par ni skye ba med |
| sems la mi zad gnas pa min | [129]

| gal te 'di nyid glo[5] bur ba |
| de tshe sngon du sems dri med |
| gal te[6] sems las dus ring can |
| de tshe de ni ci las skye[7] | [130]

| gal te sems med par skye na |
| de tshe nam mkha'i me tog mtshungs |
| gal te sems la rtag tu gnas |
| de tshe kun tu thar pa min | [131]

[1] L N U: *yi.*
[2] L N S: *'bugs.*
[3] D N T: *blo.*
[4] Q S U: *yis.*
[5] J L T D: *blo.*
[6] D L N T U: *gang tshe* for *gal te.*
[7] L N S T U: *skyes.*

| nor bu chen po rdo la reg |
| rab tu gsal bar 'gyur ba ltar |
| de bzhin mi 'gyur bdes[1] reg na |
| sems ni bde ba nyid du 'gyur | [126]

| 'dir mang smras pas ci zhig rtogs[2] |
| 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa la[3] |
| lcags la kun du 'bigs pa yi[4] |
| ro yis nus mthu bsam mi khyab | [127]

| don dam par ni ye shes dngos |
| rtogs par yang ni nus sam ci |
| blo bur dri mas g.yogs pa yi |
| sems la kun tu 'bigs pa yin | [128]

| sems la glo bur dri ma med |
| sems la yun rings dus su[5] 'ang min |
| sems las ma gtogs skye ba'ang min |
| sems la zad med gnas pa 'ang min[6] | [129]

| gal te 'di ni[7] blo bur na |
| de phyir sngon du dri med sems |
| gal te 'di ni yun rings na |
| de phyir de la srid min gang | [130]

| gal te sems las ma gtogs 'ongs |
| del tar nam mkha'i me tog mthsungs |
| gal te sems la rtags gnas na |
| de la kun tu[8] thar pa min | [131]

1 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bde.*
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bya.*
3 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yis.*
4 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yin.*
5 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *na.*
6 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *med.*
7 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'di'i* for *'di ni.*
8 F V Ṭ(D): *du.*

A

| ji ltar zangs kyi dri ma ni |
| ro yi sbyor bas nyams par 'gyur |
| de yi yod nyid nyams pa med |
| dri med nyid kyis yang dag gnas | [132]

| de bzhin sems kyi dri ma ni |
| stong nyid sbyor bas rnam nyams 'gyur |
| de yi ye shes nyid nyams med |
| dri med nyid kyis yang dag gnas | [133]

| ji ltar bcud kyis phug pa'i lcags |
| lcags nyid du ni rjes 'gro min |
| de bzhin bde bas phug pa'i sems |
| sdug bsngal nyid du rjes 'gro min | [134]

| chags bral las gzhan sdig pa med |
| bde ba las gzhan bsod nams med |
| de phyir 'gyur med bde bar sems |
| mi bdag rtag tu gnas par bya | [135]

| gzhon nu ma yi dga' ba ni |
| med par bde ba smra mi nus |
| lang tsho'i dga' ba thob pa na |
| bde ba chen po rang gis rig | [136]

| de bzhin ting 'dzin dang bral ba'i |
| bde ba smra bar nus ma yin |
| 'gyur med ting 'dzin thob pa na |
| rnal 'byor pa yis rang rig 'gyur | [137]

| ji ltar zangs ma'i dri ma ni | **B**
| bcud kyi sbyor bas nyams par 'gyur |
| dri med kyis ni yang dag gnas |
| de yi[1] de nyid nyams pa med | [132]

| de bzhin sems kyi dri ma ni |
| stong nyid sbyor bas nyams par 'gyur |
| dri med kyis ni yang dag gnas |
| de yi[2] ye shes nyams pa med | [133]

| ji ltar bcud kyis lcags phug[3] pa |
| lcags nyid du ni 'gyur ba med |
| de bzhin bde bas phug pa'i sems |
| sdug bsngal nyid du 'gyur ma yin | [134]

| chags bral las ni sdig gzhan med |
| bde las bsod nams gzhan pa med |
| de bas mi 'gyur bde sems kyis |[4]
| rtag tu dbugs bya mi dbang kye | [135]

| chags las ma gtogs bde ba ni |
| gzhon nu ma yis smra nus min |
| lang tshos bde ba thob nas su |
| bde chen rang gis rig pa ste[5] | [136]

| de bzhin ting 'dzin bral ba yis |
| bde ba smra bar mi nus so |
| ting nge 'dzin gyis mi 'gyur thob |
| rnal 'byor pa rnams rang gis rig | [137]

[1] F Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yis.*
[2] V Ṭ(D): *yis*
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'bigs.*
[4] Verses 135 c, d in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *de bas rtag par mi 'gyur bde* | | *sems ni dbugs bya mi dbang kye* |.
[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) read stanza 136: | *gzhon nu ma yi dga' ba ni* | | *bde ba smra bar mi nus kyi* | | *lan tsho yis ni bde thob pa* | | *bde ba chen po rang gis rig* |.

A

| 'gyur med las skyes bde rig pa |
| thams cad mkhyen la 'ang the tshom[1] za |
| de lta na yang yid bde min |
| chags bral nyid du mi bya'o | [138]

| 'phos pa las ni chags bral 'gyur |
| chags bral las ni sdug bsngal 'byung |
| sdug bsngal skyes bu'i khams zad byed |
| zad pa las ni 'chi bar brjod | [139]

| shi nas[2] slar yang de rnams kyi |
| srid pa'o srid las slar 'chi 'pho |
| de ltar sems can gyi srid pa |
| chags bral las 'byung gzhan du min | [140]

| de phyir 'bad pa thams cad kyis |
| 'pho ba'i chags pa rnam par spang |
| gang gis 'gyur med bde bar 'gyur |
| rnal 'byor 'khor bar bcings pa yis | [141]

| 'dod ldan yang ni chags bral bar |
| 'dod pa'i bstan bcos su mi 'dod |
| bdag gis brjod pa'i rgyud du[3] slar |
| rnal 'byor pa cis[4] sdug bsngal 'dod | [142]

| khu ba mi 'gyur rang bzhin gyis |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgrub par bya |
| rten ni 'pho ba thob pa na |
| brten pa'i 'dod chags bral ba nyid | [143]

[1] D J: *tsom.*
[2] J Q: *las.*
[3] L N T U: *tu.*
[4] L N T U: *ci.*

| mi 'gyur las skyes the tshom ste |
| thams cad mkhyen pa ma rig[1] kyang |
| yid la bde min chags bral ba[2] |
| de ltar nam yang mi bya'o | [138]

| 'pho ba las ni chag bral 'gyur |
| chags bral las ni sdug bsngal 'byung |
| sdug bsngal las ni skyes bu khams |
| zad las 'chi ba zhes su brjod | [139]

| shi las de rnams slar yang srid |
| srid pa las ni slar 'chi 'pho |
| 'di ltar chags bral byung ba las |[3]
| sems can gzhan du srid pa med | [140]

| de bas 'bad pa thams cad kyis |
| 'pho ba'i bde ba spang bar bya |
| gang gis srid pa'i 'ching ba las |
| mi 'gyur bder 'gyur rnal 'byor pas | [141]

| 'dod pa'i bstan bcos chags can pas |
| chags bral bar ni mi 'dod do[4] |
| bdag gis[5] bstan pa'i rgyud las ni |
| rnal 'byor pa ni bsdug bsngal 'dod | [142]

| sa bon mi 'gyur rab bzhin gyis |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgrub par bya |
| rten ni 'pho ba thob pa la |
| rten byed chags dang bral ba nyid | [143]

1 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *thob.*
2 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bas.*
3 Verses 139 b, c, d and 140 a, b, c are omitted in the *Ṭikā.*
4 Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *na.*
5 F Ṭ(Q): *gi.*

A

| rten dang brten pa legs rdzogs pa |
| ji srid 'gyur med nyid du 'gro |
| sems kyi 'gyur med nyid thob na |
| rten dang brten pa'i mtshan nyid med | [144]

| 'gyur med las byung sku yi ni |
| mdzod spu'i 'khor lor son pa'i yang |
| ā li kā li mnyam sbyor ba |
| hūm yig mi 'dod mi yi bdag | [145]

| stong pa las byung gzugs brnyan rgyu |
| mi 'gyur las skyes bde ba 'bras |
| rgyu ni 'bras bus rgyas btab pa |
| 'bras bu rgyu yis rgyas btab pa'o | [146]

| stong nyid gzugs brnyan 'dzin pa rgyu |
| snying rje 'gyur med 'dzin pa 'bras |
| stong nyid snying rje dbyer med pa |
| byang chub sems de mi 'pho ba'o | [147]

| mya ngan 'das pa bral ba'i gzugs |
| 'khor ba las 'das mi 'gyur ba |
| de dag sbyor ba gnyis med mchog |
| rtag dang chad las nges par grol | [148]

| dngos med las byung mtshan nyid phyir |
| gzugs ni dngos po med pa min |
| dngos po las byung mtshan nyid phyir |
| 'gyur ba med pa dngos po min | [149]

| rten dang brten[1] pa'i 'brel pa ni | **B**
| ji srid mi 'gyur nyid du 'gyur |
| sems kyis mi 'gyur nyid thob nas |
| rten dang brten pa'i 'brel pa med | [144]

| mi 'gyur ba las skyes pa'i sku |
| mdzod spu'i'khor lor son pa las[2] |
| ā [3]li kā [4]li'i sbyor ba yis |
| hūm yig mi 'dod rgyal po kye | [145]

| stong pa las byung[5] gzugs ni rgyu |
| 'bras bu mi 'gyur las skyes bde[6] |
| 'bras bu yis ni rgyu rgyas gdab |
| rgyu yis 'bras bu rgyas gdab po | [146]

| stong nyid gzugs 'dzin rgyu yin te |
| 'bras bu snyin rje mi 'gyur 'dzin |[7]
| stong nyid snying rje dbyer med pa |
| byang chub sems su de brjod do | [147]

| myang ngan 'das dang bral ba'i sems |
| 'khor ba las 'das[8] mi 'gyur ba |
| rtag dang chad las nges par grol |
| de nyid sbyor ba gnyis med gzhan | [148]

| dngos med las byung mtshan nyid phyir |
| gzugs la dngos po med pa min |
| dngos po las byung mtshan nyid phyir |
| mi 'gyur ba la dngos po med | [149]

[1] F V: *rten.*
[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *la.*
[3] F V: *a.*
[4] F V: *ka.*
[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *byung ba'i* for *byung.*
[6] Verse 146 b is omitted in the *Ṭikā.*
[7] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) read verse 147 a, b: |*stong pa nyid gzugs rgyu yin te* | |*'bras bu snying rje'i gzugs mi 'dzin* |.
[8] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'da'.*

A

| dngos po dngos med yang dag sbyor |
| rdo rje'i rnal 'byor gnyis med mchog |
| gzugs dang gzugs min rnam par grol |
| pra phab me long la bzhin no | [150]

| gzugs ni srid par mi 'ong ste |
| 'gyur med mya ngan 'das mi[1] 'gro |
| phan tshun mkhyud[2] pas[3] zhi ba ste |
| ma ning gi ni go 'phang mchog | [151]

| shes rab rgyu las ma byung zhing |
| shes rab rgyu las byung ba 'bras |
| shes rab rgyu las ma[4] skyes phyir |
| shes rab las[5] skyes rgyu skyes min | [152]

| de phyir ye shes rgyu skyes min |
| shes rab ye shes bla na med |
| 'bras bu rgyu yis gzhan dang gzhan |
| phan tshun du ni rgyas btab med | [153]

| rgyu dang 'bras bu thams cad gang |
| de ni rten cing 'brel bar[6] 'byung |
| phan tshun rgya yis btab pa'i gzugs |
| skye min mya ngan 'das pa'ang min | [154]

| shes rab kun nas mya ngan 'das |
| skye ba mchog tu 'gyur ba med |
| rgyu dang 'bras bu rnam nges grol |
| phan tshun du ni rgyas btab med | [155]

[1] L N: *ma.*
[2] D J: *'khyud.*
[3] L N S T U: *pa.*
[4] L N U: *byung.*
[5] L N S T U: *la.*
[6] L N: *par.*

| dngos dang dngos med yang dag sbyor |
| rdo rje rnal 'byor gnyis med mchog |
| gzugs dang gzugs min rnam par grol |
| me long la[1] ni pra bzhin no | [150]

| gzugs ni srid par mi 'gro ste |
| 'gyur med mya ngan 'das mi 'gro[2] |
| phan tshun mkhyud pa[3] zhi ba na |
| ma ning gi ni go 'phang mchog | [151]

| rgyu las shes rab ma skyes te |
| shes rab rgyu las 'bras bu 'byung |
| rgyu las shes rab ma skyes phyir |
| shes rab las skyes rgyu skyes min | [152]

| de phyir rgyu skyes ye shes min |
| shes rab ye shes mi 'gyur te |
| 'bras bu dang ni rgyu yis ni |
| phan tshun du ni rgyas gdab med |[4] 153

| gang zhig rgyu dang 'bras bu kun |
| de ni rten cing 'brel bar[5] 'byung |
| phan tshun du ni mkhyud pa'i[6] gzugs |
| skye ba med cing 'das pa[7] med | [154]

| shes rab kun nas mya ngan 'das |
| mchog tu 'gyur ba med pa skyes[8] |
| rgyu dang 'bras bu rnam par grol |
| phan tshun rgya yis btab[9] pa med | [155]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *gi.*

[2] Ṭ(Q) Ṭ(D) read 151 a, b: | *srid gsum gzugs ni mi 'ong ste* | | *'gyur med mi grol myang ngan 'das* |.

[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dang.*

[4] Verses 152 and 153 are omitted in the *Ṭikā.*

[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *las.*

[6] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *rgyas gdab* for *mkhyud pa'i.*

[7] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa 'ang.*

[8] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *ste.*

[9] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *gdab.*

A

| ma skyes pa dang ma 'gags pa'i |
| shes bya gang zhig 'dir mthong ba |
| de ni rang sems gzhan ma yin |
| phyi yi shes bya rnam 'byed phyir | [156]

| de phyir bdag gis bdag nyid la |
| 'gar yang rgyas gdab nus ma yin |
| ral gri chen po bdag nyid la |
| bdag nyid so yis gcod dam ci | [157]

| mo gsham bu mo dang 'grogs pas |
| rmi lam du ni bde 'gyur ltar |
| nam mkha' las byung gzugs brnyan ni |
| bsten pas bdag la de bzhin no | [158]

| shes rab ma yin thabs kyang min |
| 'di ni lhan skyes shes rab bcas |
| kun nas bde ba rdzogs pa las |
| sgrib pa thams cad spangs pa ste | [159]

| nam mkha' bzhin du gos pa med |
| yul dang dbang po spangs pa ni |
| kun nas 'byung po kun la gnas |
| gcad du med pa dbye ba spangs | [160]

| rang byung rdo rje sems dpa' 'di[1] |
| don chen mchog tu mi 'gyur ba |
| 'dod chags chen po sems dpa' che |
| sems can thams cad dga' bar byed | [161]

| byang chub sems dpa' zhe sdang che |
| nyon mongs zad pa dgra chen po |
| dam tshig sems dpa' gti mug che |
| gti mug blo ste gti mug sel | [162]

[1] D J: *ni.*

| ma skyes pa dang ma 'gags pa'i | **B**
| shes bya gang zhig 'dir mthong ba[1] |
| phyi yi ye shes byas 'byed pa'i phyir[2] |
| rang gi sems las de bzhin min | [156]

| de phyir rang gis rang la ni |
| gar yang rgyas gdab nus ma yin |
| ral gri'i so yis rang la ni |
| ral gri chen pos gcod dam ci | [157]

| mo gsham bu mor sbyor ba yis |
| rmi lam bde bar 'gyur ba ltar |
| nam mkha' las byung gzugs kyis ni |
| bdag la bsten[3] pas de bzhin no | [158]

| lhan cig skyes pa'i shes rab bcas |
| 'di ni thabs min shes rab min |
| kun nas kun tu yongs su rdzogs |
| sgrib pa thams cad dag ni spangs | [159]

| nam mkha' lta bur gos pa med |
| yul dang dbang po spangs pa nyid |
| kun tu yang dag[4] kun la gnas |
| mi chod mi phyed spangs pa nyid | [160]

| 'di ni rang byung rdo rje sems |
| don chen mchog tu mi 'gyur ba |
| 'dod chags chen po sems dpa' che |
| sems can thams cad dga' bar mdzad | [161]

| byang chun sems dpa' zhe sdang che |
| nyon mongs zad mdzad dgra chen po |
| dam tshig sems dpa'[5] gti mug che |
| gti mug blo ste gti mug sel | [162]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *na.*
[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) read 156c: *phyi ru rnam par dbye ba las.*
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *brten.*
[4] In Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'byung po* for *yang dag.*
[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *chen po'i* for *sems dpa'.*

A

| rdo rje'i rnal 'byor khro ba che |
| lha min khro bo dgra chen po |
| dus kyi 'khor lo chags pa che |
| pho ba'i chags pa sel bar byed | [163]

| rdo rje mi phyed ces[1] par brjod |
| 'dir ni don chen bcom ldan 'das |
| sems dpa' srid gsum gcig pa nyid |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur brjod par bya | [164]

| mchog tu mi 'gyur bde ba rdzogs |
| sa rnams yongs su rdzogs pa yis |
| 'dod chags chen po sems dpa' che |
| sems can thams cad dga' bar byed | [165]

| byang chub la gnas sems dpa' ni |
| mi g.yo de phyir byang chub sems |
| nyon mongs la sogs zhe sdang tshogs |
| zhe sdang chen po dgra che ba | [166]

| dam tshig zla ba bdud rtsi yi |
| khu ba 'pho med de za ba |
| dam tshig sems dpa'o rigs pa 'dis |
| gti mug blo ste gti mug sel | [167]

| rdo rje thams cad gcig pa nyid |
| shes rab sku dang mi 'gyur bcas |
| khro bo chen po dgra chen po |
| khro bo'i gzugs can bdud rnams kyi'o[2] | [168]

[1] L N T U: *zhes.*
[2] D L N S T U: *kyis.*

| rdo rje rnal 'byor khro bo che | **B**
| lha min[1] khro bo dgra chen po |
| dus kyi 'khor lo chags pa che |
| 'pho ba'i chags pa sel bar mdzad[2] | [163]

| don chen bcom ldan 'das kyis 'dir |
| rdo rje mi phyed zhes su gsungs |
| sems dpa' srid pa gsum gcig pa |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur dag tu brjod | [164]

| mchog tu mi 'gyur bdes[3] gang ba |
| sa rnams kyis ni yongs rdzogs nyid |
| 'dod chags chen po sems dpa' che |
| sems can thams cad dga' bar mdzad | [165]

| sems dpa' byang chub rnam par gnas |
| de phyir mi g.yo byang chub sems |
| nyon mongs la sogs zhe sdang tshogs |
| zhe sdang chen po dgra chen po | [166]

| dam tshig zla ba'i bdud rtsi dkar |
| 'pho med de ni za ba 'o |
| rigs pa 'dis na dam tshig[4] sems |
| gti mug blo ste gti mug sel | [167]

| shes rab sku dang mi 'gyur bcas |
| rdo rje thams cad gcig pa[5] nyid |
| khro bo'i gzugs can bdud rnams la |
| khro bo chen po dgra chen po | [168]

[1] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mo'i.*
[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *sel mdzad pa* for *sel bar mdzad.*
[3] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bde.*
[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *byang chub* for *dam tshig.*
[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *po.*

A | 'gyur med bde ba che thabs las |
| nam yang sems can don mi 'dor |
| sems can grol nas chags chen po |
| 'gyur ba'i chags pa sel bar byed | [169]

| 'di rnams rnam pa drug tu brjod |
| mi 'gyur ye shes tshor ba dang |
| rnam shes gzugs dang 'du byed dang |
| 'du shes de rnams phung po'i rigs | [170]

| ye shes me dang nam mkha' sa |
| rlung chu rnams kyi rim pa bzhin |
| yid mig rna ba lus dang sna |
| lce rnams kyi yang de bzhin nyid | [171]

| sgra ro chos kyi dbyings dang dri |
| reg bya kha dog rnams kyis yang |
| khro bo'i rgyal po gdong drug 'jigs |
| rigs drug rnams kyis[1] yongs dag pa | [172]

| lus dang[2] gsang ba dbang po sems |
| rtag tu dkyil 'khor rnam pa gsum |
| shes rab thabs kyi rdo rje gsum |
| rdo rje sems dpa' nyid du 'gyur | [173]

| 'di ni dbang gis sgrub thabs te |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur sgrub pa'i thabs |
| rtsa dang rigs dang yang dag ldan |
| zla ba mdor bstan pa yis bshad | [174]

[1] L N Q S T U: *kyi.*
[2] L N S T U: *ngag.*

| mi 'gyur chen po bde thabs kyis | **B**
| nam yang sems can don mi 'dor |
| sems can grol rnams ser sna che[1] |
| 'gyur ba'i ser sna[2] sel bar mdzad | [169]

| mi 'gyur ye shes tshor ba 'di |
| rnam pa drug po dag tu brjod |[3]
| rnam shes gzugs dang 'du byed dang |
| 'du shes phung po'i rigs de rnams | [170]

| ye shes me dang nam mkha' sa |
| rim pa ji bzhin rlung dang chu |
| yid dang mig dang rna ba lus[4] |
| sna dang lce ni de bzhin no[5] | [171]

| sgra dang ro dang chos kyi dbyings |
| dri dang reg pa gzugs dag ste | [6]
| rigs drug po ni yongs su dag |
| khro bo'i rgyal po gdong drug 'jigs | [172]

| lus dang gsang ba'i dbang po sems |
| dkyil 'khor rnam gsum rtag par ni |
| thabs shes rdo rje gsum rnams kyi |
| rdo rje sems dpa' nyid 'dren to[7] | [173]

| dbang gi bsgrub pa 'di nyid ni |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgrub pa ste |
| rtsa dang rigs su yang dag ldan |
| mdor bsdus bshad do zla bzang kye | [174]

[1] In Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *sems can grol ba'i chags chen po* for *sems can grol rnams ser sna che.*

[2] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *chags pa* for *ser sna.*

[3] Verse 170 b is omitted in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q).

[4] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dang.*

[5] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *lus.*

[6] Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dri dang reg dang ka dog ste* for *dri dang reg pa gzugs dag ste.*

[7] Verse 173 is omitted in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q).

| ces pa 'jig rten khams kyi le'ur le'u[1] lnga pa'i mchog tu mi'gyur ba'i dbang gi[2] sgrub thabs mdor bstan pa rdzogs so ||

|| 'di ni kha che'i paṇḍi ta so ma nā tha dang | bod kyi lo tsā[3] ba 'bro dge slong shes rab grags pas bsgyur zhing[4] zhus te | gtan la phab pa las | slar yang[5] rin chen rgyal mtshan gyis dpal nā ro pa'i 'grel bshad dang mthun[6] par bsgyur cing zhus te dag par byas pa'o ||

[1] J Q: *le'ur.*
[2] L N U: *gis.*
[3] L N Q T U: *tstsha;* JS: *tsa.*
[4] L N S T U: *cing.*
[5] D J Q: insert *sgra tshad pa.*
[6] L N T U: *'thun.*

| 'jig rten gyi khams kyi le'u la sogs pa las | | le'u lnga pa mchog tu mi 'gyur ba'i dbang gis bsgrub pa mdor bsdus pa'i le'u zhes bya ba rdzogs sto ||

|| rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta zla ba mgon po dang | | bod kyi lo tstsha ba dge slong shes rab grags kyis bsgyur nas gtan la phab pa'o | |slad nas paṇḍi ta mkhas pa chen po sa manta shrī'i zhal mnga' nas dang |

| lo tstsha ba dge slong chos rab kyis zhu chen legs par bgyis pa'o ||

|| yang phyis puṇye shrī de shantras rgya dpe la gtugs shing 'grel pa dang bstun[1] nas chad pa bsabs zur nyams pa rnams bsos te dag par byas pa'o ||

[1] F V: *btun.*

SINGLE READINGS[1]

TEXT A

Title		D: *se kko dde sha*; Q: *se kod de sha*
Stanza	6	(d*2) T: *rnams.*
	9	(d*4) L: *gyis.*
	10	(a*6) Q: *dbyangs*; (b *2) S: *rje'i.*
	20	(b*2) J: *rje.*
	24	(a*6) Q: *byed.*
	22	(c*3,4,5,6) L: *sed' sed'.*
	27	(d*3) U: *yongsu.*
	28	(b*5) L: *sgom.*
	30	(d*6) S: *'khrul.*
	31	(d* 1, 2) L: *seṃn.*
	32	(a*5, 6) L: *gzhonu.*
	34	(d*1, 2) L: *gzhonu.*
	35	(b*6) L: *brtsol.*
	36	(d*6) T: *pa.*
	37	(d*6, 7) L: *rnamso.*
	38	(b*8) T: *gsungs*; (d*1) U: *ci.*
	42	(b 1, 2) L: *dusu.*
	44	(a*2) L: *cu.*
	45	(d*3, 4) L: *ralri.*
	46	(d*1,2) Q: *pad ma.*
	52	(b*1) Q: *skyed.*
	54	(a*5, 6) L: *taṃd*; (c*7) T: *yis.*
	56	(a *5, 6) L: *gtumo*; (b *4, 5) L: *mkha'gro*; (c*3, 5) L: *brjodus*; (c*7) S: *kyis.*
	57	(d*1,2) L: *dbusu.*
	58	(a *3,4) Q: *pad ma*; (b*1,2) L: *dkyor.*
	59	(c*7) T inserts the repetition: *g.yan (sic!) dang g.yas pa'i dus sbyar na*; (d*1, 2) L: *dbyugus.*
	62	(a*5, 6) L: *namkha'*; (d*1,2,3,4) L: *g.yas pas sogs* for *g.yas par sa sogs.*
	63	(c*1) J: *'the*; U: *the.*
	64	(c*3) J: *'dzub*; (d*3, 4) L: *ralrir.*
	66	(d*6,7) L: *gcigo.*

[1] See above p. 39.

Stanza	68	(b*6,7) L: *'gago*.
	69	(d*6,7) L: *spyodo*.
	72	(d*7) S: *bo*.
	73	(a*5) S: *lag*; (c*6,7) L: *nyin* for *ba dag*.
	74	(a*7) Q: *dag*.
	75	(d*5) Q: *myam*.
	78	(b*3) T: *bzod*.
	80	(a *3,4) Q: *pad ma*; (c*7) J: *po*.
	81	(a* 1,2) L: *snogs*; (b*3,4): *pad ma*.
	82	(b*7) Q: *go*.
	83	(b *2) S: *pa'i*; (d *1,2) Q: *pad ma*.
	84	(a* 5,6) L: *dusu*.
	85	(a*4) J: *shes*; (b*3,4) Q: *pad ma*; (c*7,8) L: *brjode*; (c*7) S: *do*.
	86	(a*3, 4) L: *thaṃd*.
	88	(a*1.2) L: *sangyas*; (b *1, 2) Q: *pad mar*; (c*7) J: *ste*; (d*4) N: *bu*; (d*7) L: *dgo* for *da go*.
	94	(b*7) T: omits *med*.
	99	(a*6) T: *mkhyud*; (b* 5,6) Q: *pad mar*.
	108	(d*3) Q: *las*.
	110	(d*3) J: *bsdud*.
	116	(d*5) Q: *mi* D: omits *ma*; (d*6) D: *'khyud*.
	118	(a*7) D: *'dis*.
	123	(c*7) Q: *nas*.
	124	(b *5) T: *bri*.
	128	(c*5) S: *'bugs*.
	132	(a*4) Q: *gyi*.
	137	(c*7) T: *ni*.
From	141	(d)
to	166	(a*1) missing in Q (*Rgyud* Ka fols. 22a and b).
	146	(d* 3, 4, 5) S: *rgya yis* for *rgyu yis rgyas*
	147	(d*5) T: *yi*.
	153	Quarter a is omitted in J.
	156	(b*7) S: *pa*.
	157	(d*4) S: *yi*.
	161	(s* 3 4) N: *taṃd*.
	174	(c*4) L: *pa*.
Colophon:		Q: *rdzogs te* for *rdzogs so*; T: *slar spos gang* for *slar yang*.

Text B

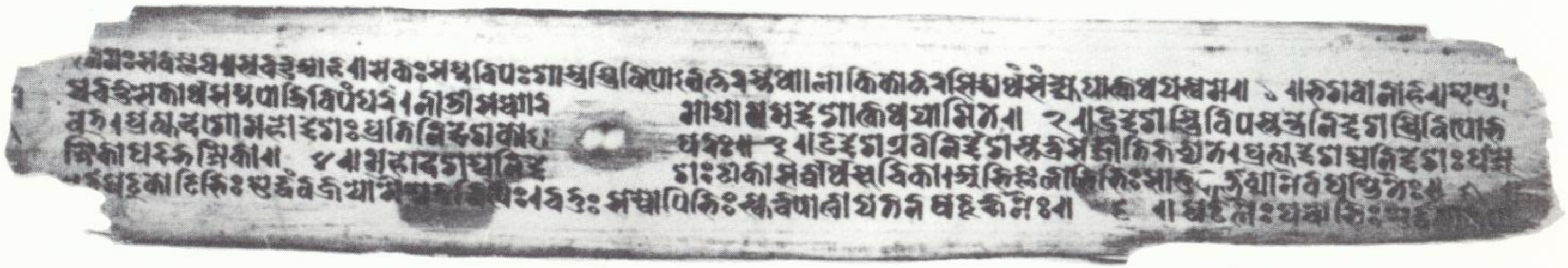
Stanza	3	(c*2) V: *du*; (c*6) V: *stan.*
	4	(c*4) V: *stan.*
	5	(a* 4) F: *bo'i*; (d*4) F: *gyi.*
	7	(b*7) F: *ni*; (c*4) F: *lor.*
	9	(a*4) V: *nyid.*
	10	(a*6) F: *sbyangs*, V: *spyangs*; (b*6) F: *bshugs*, V: *shugs.*
	11	(b*1) Ṭ(Q): *sbyong*; (d*2) Ṭ(Q): ni;
	12	quarter a is omitted in Ṭ(Q); (b*1) V: *gcod*; (b*3): gyi; (b*6) Ṭ(Q): *po'i*; (c*2) F: *spyangs*; V: *sbyangs*; (c*7) Ṭ(Q): *'dags.*
	13	(b*4) V: *du*; (c*6,7) V: *'phog pa* for *'pho ba*; c and d omitted in Ṭ(Q).
	14	(a*5) V: *las.*
	15	(c*1) F: *sngar.*
	17	(a*5,6,7) V: *de dag ni* for *dag pa ni*; (d*1) V: *bzhin.*
	21	(d*4) V: *pos.*
	24	(c*7) F: *med.*
	27	(a*6) V: *'dzum.*
	28	(c*5) Ṭ(Q): *blta*; Ṭ(D): *lta.*
	29	(a*5, 6) Ṭ(Q): *cig* for *pra la* Ṭ(D): *bkrab gcig* for *pra.*
	31	(d*6) F: *bar.*
	32	(a *4) F: *bar*; (c*1) F: *nya.*
	34	(b*2) V: *gis*; (d) Ṭ(D): *dper na bu mo gzhon nu ma*, Ṭ(Q): *dper na gzhon nu ma* for *gzhon nu ma yi bu bzhin no.*
	35	(a*6) V: *du*; (c*7) F: *pyir.*
	36	(a*3, 4) F: *sgrag can* for *sgra gcan*; (d*6) V: *gis.*
	37	(b*5) F: *rtse V*: *rtsal* (c*7) V: *yin no* for *yis.*
	38	(d*4) Ṭ(Q): *ma.*
	39	(b*5) V: *mchu*; *(d*6)*:V: *pa ma shes* for *ma shes rab.*
	41	(a*6) V: *gi*; (b*3,4,5,6,7) V: *rtsal chi ltas yin no* for *rtsa la chi ltas yin.*
	42	(a*3) V: *mchi*; (b*2) Ṭ(D): *las*; (d*6) V: *'og*
	43	(a*1) F: *du*; V: *dum*; (b*4) F: *no*; (d*5): *ma'i.*
	44	(b*2) V: *brgyad*; (b*4) Ṭ(D): *mo* (d*7) F: *steng.*
	45	(a*7) Ṭ(D): *rtsar*; (b*3) V: *rman*; (c*1) Ṭ(D): *phyebs.*

Stanza	46	(d*7) Ṭ(Q): *ni.*
	47	(d*7) F: *gsung.*
	49	(a*4) Ṭ(D): *ni.*
	50	(a*4) Ṭ(Q): *stengs*; (b*2) Ṭ(D): *'ba'*; (b*3) Ṭ(Q): *shin*; Ṭ(D): *zhig*; (c*4) V: *mkha'.*
	52	(b*1) Ṭ(D): *skyes.*
	55	(a*6) F: *gdong*; (c*2) Ṭ(D): *gi.*
	58	(b*5) V: *rims.*
	60	(a*7) V: *dbus.*
	62	(a*3) V: *brtags*; (b*2) Ṭ(Q): *pa*; (c*4) Ṭ(D): *pa.*
	63	(a*4) V: *tu.*
	64	(c*1) V: *'dzug* Ṭ(D): *mdzub*; (d*5,6,7) Ṭ(Q): *gyur pas so*, Ṭ(D): *'gyur bas so* for *'gyur ba'o.*
	65	(b*1) F: *che*; (b*3) V: *tha.*
	68	(c*5) F: *'gag*; (c*6) F: *gyur.*
	69	(b*1) F: *bskyes,* V: *bskyed*; Ṭ(Q): *skye*; (c*3) F: *'thul.*
	70	(c*4) V: *du.*
	71	(b*1) V: *deng*; (c*4) Ṭ(Q) inserts *rtsa*; (d *1,2) Ṭ(Q) reads *sa* for *g.yas pa.*
	74	(c*2) V: *rgya.*
	75	(a*5) F: *gzhan*; (a*6) F: *zhig.*
	77	(b*5) V: *gzhugs*; (c*2) F: *spong,* V: *sgo*; (d*2) V: *du.*
	78	(a*5) Ṭ(D): *gzhon.*
	79	(a*7) Ṭ(Q): *ni*; (d*7) V: *blus.*
	80	(b*6) V: *bas*; (c*7) Ṭ(Q): *bo*; Ṭ(D): *'o.*
	82	(c*3) V: *las nas* for *las*; (d*5) F: *der.*
	84	(a*7) Ṭ(D): *no*; (d*4) F: *sbyar.*
	85	(a*2) V: *yis*; (a*4) V: *na*; (c*6) V: *pa.*
	86	(b*4) F: *rtsir.*
	87	(b*4) Ṭ(Q): *skye.*
	88	(a*2) Ṭ(D): *spur*; (c*3) F: *gnas*; (d*6) V: *gnyis.*
	90	(a*6) Ṭ(D): *ba.*
	91	(c*1) F: *dpal.*
	92	(b*6) F: *bar.*
	93	(d*5) V: *phrel.*
	95	(b*1) V: *btsub*; (b*5) V: *btsub.*
	96	(c*2)V: *po*; (c*3)V: *med*; (c*7) V inserts *dngos po las ni dngos med min.*
	98	(b*5) V: *skyes.*
	99	(c*7) F: *na.*

Stanza	101	(a*1, 2) F: *mgong po* for *mgo bo*; (a*5) Ṭ(Q): *rol.*
	102	(d*3) F: *cha.*
	105	(a*5) Ṭ(Q): *'jigs*; (b*4) Ṭ(Q): *mo*; (d*2) Ṭ(D): *nyid.*
	106	(a*3) F: *gis*; (a*4) F: *ni*; (b*5) V: *yongs.*
	107	(a*4) V: *gsal.*
	111	(a*7) V: *shegs*; (d*4) Ṭ(Q): *las*; (d*7) V: *yin.*
	112	(b*6) Ṭ(Q): *zlos.*
	113	(a*5,6,7) V: *yongs su rdzogs*; (c*4) omitted in F.
	114	(a*5) V: *rnams*; (a*6) V: *sa.*
	116	(d*3,4) Ṭ(Q): *dag pa* for *gang ba*
	117	(a*6) V: *bo*; (b*5) F: *dangs*; (d*7) Ṭ(D): *snyams.*
	120	(b*3) Ṭ(D): *'ang*; Ṭ(Q): *gnan* (b*5) F: *rigs*; (b*6) Ṭ(Q), Ṭ(D): *min.*
	121	(a*5,6,7) V: *rdo rje nor bu* for *rdor nor bur*; (a*6) F: *bya.*
	122	(a*7) V: *ni*; (c*5) F: *sems*; (c*6) F: *bdugs*; V: *gdugs*; (d*5) V: *'big.*
	123	(a*6) F: *cig* (d*2) V: *rnams.*
	125	(a*6,7) V: *la bsgyur* for *bsgyur la.*
	127	(a*2) Ṭ(Q): *yang*; (c*2)Ṭ(Q): *ni*; (d*4) Ṭ(Q): *mthu.*
	128	(b*4) Ṭ(Q): *na*; (c*5) V: *g.yog*; (d*7) Ṭ(Q) *yi.*
	129	(c*4) V: *rtog* (c*5) V: *pa.*
	130	(c*7) Ṭ(D): *na*; (d*5) F: *srin.*
	132	(d*5) F: *nyam*; V: *mnyams.*
	134	(b*2, 3) Ṭ(Q):*'bigs pa* for *nyid du.*
	135	(d*7) V: *kyi.*
	136	(b*5) V: *smras*
	137	(b*7) Ṭ(D): *kyis*; (c*1,2,3,4) F: *ting 'dzin gyis ni* for *ting nge 'dzin gyis.*
	138	(d*4) Ṭ(D): *yang ni* for *nam yang.*
	141	(d*5) F: *rnam.*
	142	(a*4) F: *bcom.*
	144	(a*6) F: *ba*; (c*2) V: *kyi*;(c*6) Ṭ(D): *'thob*; (d*3) V: *rten*; (d*6) F: *ba*
	145	(a*3) F: *pa*; (b*2) F: *spu la'i* for *spu'i*; (b*4) F: *los.*
	146	(d*7) Ṭ(Q): *pa.*
	147	(b*4) V: *rje'i.*
	150	(b*7) Ṭ(Q): *sbyor.*
	154	(b*6) V: *pa.*
	157	(c*2) F: *gri li.*

Stanza	159	(d*5,6,7) Ṭ(D): *spangs pa dang* for *dag ni spangs.*
	162	(a*5) V: *zhes.*
	166	(b*1) Ṭ(Q): *ci'i.*
	167	(b*5) F: *zab.*
	169	(a*6) Ṭ(D): *stobs*; (b*1, 2) Ṭ(Q) omits *nam yang.*
	174	(a) omitted in V; (d*4) V: *pa'i.*
Colophon		F: *Sa mante shi*; V: *Sa manta shri.*

APPENDIX



The first folio of the *Sekoddeśa* as found among the leaves of the *Pañjikā* (see below p. 127)

ON THE SANSKRIT TEXT

BY

RANIERO GNOLI

INTRODUCTION

Only the first leaf of the *Sekoddeśa* has been preserved in Sanskrit, in two different manuscripts. The first of them substitutes the first folio of a manuscript of the *Yogaratnamālā* or *Hevajrapañjikā*. It was edited by Hara-Prasād Shāstrī and contains stanzas 1-13, with the omission of stanza 6, of the first six *akṣaras* of stanza 7 and of the fourth *pāda* of stanza 13[1].

The other leaf (see the plate) is included in a manuscript containing the anonymous *Pañjikā* to the *Sekoddeśa* together with the leaves of another small tantric work (see below). It contains stanzas 1- 6 and the first *pāda* of stanza 7.

I have found other stanzas of the *Sekoddeśa* in various works, both printed and manuscript. I am sure that others could be added to them, scattered in various commentaries. All these stanzas have been written in italics and the source indicated in the notes.

The reconstruction of many stanzas and *pādas* is certain, but I have not written them in italics, preferring instead to write in italics the first words of the stanzas or verses occuring in the commentaries, and verses and *pādas* when they are expressly quoted in full in the commentaries.

The remaining stanzas (about 70) have been reconstructed with the help of the three commentaries we have of the work in Sanskrit and of the Tibetan translations. The text of many of them is also certain, in as much as all or almost all the words are quoted in the commentaries. Of the other ones, the meaning is always certain, but the reading not always so, and when the original text shall be discovered, sometime and somewhere (of this I am sure), they shall surely be the object of formal modifications and emendations. For the time being, however, I do not think that my work is useless, inasmuch as, the *Sekoddeśa* being a work conceived and written in Sanskrit, the reader is obliged somehow to reelaborate it and mentally retranslate it into this language. Anyway the text I propose to Buddhist scholars accords well "with the required sense as it may be ascertained from the Tibetan translation and

[1] *A catalogue of palm-leaf and selected paper MSS belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal* by Hara Prasād Shāstrī, vol. II, Calcutta 1905, pp. 44, 45 (reprinted in Reinhold Grünendahl, etc., Publications of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project 1, Stuttgart 1989).

the several commentaries"[2] and that is, I think, the most important thing.

The language of the *Sekoddeśa* and of the *Mūlakālacakratantra* is just an inferior Sanskrit, as is usually found with Buddhist tantric texts[3], with scattered, here and there, grammatical solecisms, sandhi inconsistencies and metrical irregularities.

The translation of the stanzas, which are not easily intelligible without the help of a commentary, will appear together with that of three commentaries, as the third volume of this work.

The Sanskrit commentaries to the *Sekoddeśa* upon which I have based this edition are the following[4]:

1) the anonymous *Pañjikā* (National Archives, Kathmandu, *Sekādikoddeśapada* [*Kalyāṇakāmadhenuvivaraṇasahita*], tṛ 363, VI 194; Mf. B 94/9; 23 palm leaves. The fourteenth and last leaf of the *Pañjikā* is missing (see Hara Prasād Shāstri, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 37, 38, No. III. 363 B);

2) the *Ṭippaṇī* by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, a disciple of Anupamarakṣita and contemporary of Nāropā (Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. 10744, 10 palm leaves, complete);

3) the *Paramārthasaṃgrahanāmaṭīkā* by Nāropā. This work was edited by M.Carelli, very imperfectly and with many omissions. Dr Mario Carelli was not able to review the final proofs because of the war. The book appeared in Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XC (*Sekoddeśaṭīkā* of *Naḍapāda* [Nāropā], by Mario E.Carelli, Baroda 1941). "The edition of the present work (says M.Carelli) had been undertaken in 1931 when my master, Dr G.Tucci, entrusted me with the transcription of the palm-leaf ms. of *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* he had borrowed from the Mahārāja's Library, Kathmandu, Nepal". Of this manuscript there is no more trace. In the National Archives of Kathmandu, there is instead a paper-manuscript consisting of 90 folios, almost correct and with a single omission (see p. 21 of the printed text). The manuscript is signed: pan 116, Mf B 94/9.

These three commentaries will be edited as the second volume of this work.

[2] D.L.Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra,* vol. II, 1959, p. xi. On the Sanskrit of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, see the paper by John Newman, *Buddhist Sanskrit in the Kālacakra Tantra,* JIABS, vol. 11, 1988, pp. 123-133.

[3] Snellgrove, 1959, p. x.

[4] In quoting the manuscripts preserved in the National Archives of Kathmandu I have followed Mitutoshi Moriguchi, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tantric Manuscript in the National Archives of Nepal and Kesar Library,* Tokyo 1989.

List of the Sources

GBh: *Guṇabharaṇī* by Raviśrījñāna, being a commentary to the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* of Anupamarakṣita. See Günter Grönbold's doctoral dissertation, *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga: Raviśrījñāna's Guṇabharaṇī nama Ṣaḍaṇgayogaṭippaṇī mit text übersetzung, und literarhistorischern kommentar* (München 1969). The edition is based on the unique manuscript preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Hodgson Collection (no. 66).

Dhīḥ, A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts, Sarnath, Varanasi (1985-1994).

DK: *Dohākośavyākhyā* by Munidatta. I have used the edition by Per Kvaerne, An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs, Bangkok 1986.

Kaṇikā: Amṛtakaṇikānāmanāmasaṃgītiṭippaṇī or *Amṛtakaṇikā* by Raviśrījñāna, being a commentary to the *Nāmasaṃgīti.* All or almost all the stanzas quoted by Raviśrījñāna are reproduced in *Dhīḥ.* There are many MSS of this work in India and in other countries. I have mainly used a paper MS preserved in the Keśar Library, Kathmandu, of which I have photocopies.

KR: Anonymous Commentary to the *Kalparājatantra*, IsMEO, FGT V^{I} 263.

SS: *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha,* edited by Cecil Bendall, in *Le Muséon,* Nouvelle Série, Vol. 4-5, 1903-04.

TJS: *Tattvajñānasaṃsiddhiḥ* by *Śūnyasamādhivajrapāda* with the *ṭīkā* called *Mahāsukhaprakāśikā* by Bhikṣuśrīdhyānacandra, *Dharmodayagranthamāla* 37, 2013 Vikrama Saṃvat, Kathmandu. All the stanzas of SU quoted in this commentary are borrowed from the commentary *Marmakaṇikā* by Vīryaśrīmitra (see Mitutoshi Moriguchi, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tantric Manuscripts in the National Archives of Nepal and Kesar Library*, Tokyo 1989).

VC: *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota* by Vibhūticandra, being a commentary to the *Amṛtakaṇikā* by Raviśrījñana. The manuscript I have used is that in Tokyo (see Seiren Matsunami, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*, Tokyo, 1965, No. 18).

Vajragarbha: *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* by Vajragarbhadaśabhūmīśvara, National Archives, Kathmandu, C 128, Mf, C 14/6; tṛ 693, VI 230, Mf, A 693/11.

Vajrapāṇi: *Lakśābhidhānoddhṛtalaghvabhidhānapiṇḍārthavivaraṇam* (MS. Tucci, IsMEO, not in catalogue).

Vimalaprabhā: *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā* of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarīka (Vol. I, containing the *ṭīkā* to the chapters I and II), critical ed. by Jagannatha Upadhyaya, Sarnath, Varanasi, 1986.

oṃ namaḥ kālacakrāya

sucandra āha

sekaḥ saptavidhaḥ śāsta trividho 'nuttaras tathā |
laukikottarasiddhyarthaṃ saṃkṣepāt kathayasva me || 1 ||

bhagavān āha

śṛṇu sucandra sekārthaṃ saptadhā trividhaṃ param |
nāḍīsaṃcāram āyāmam uddeśāt kathayāmi te || 2 ||

uddeśas trividhas tantre nirdeśas trividho bhavet |
pratyuddeśo mahoddeśaḥ pratinirdeśako 'paraḥ || 3 ||

uddeśa eva nirdeśas tantrasaṃgītir ucyate |
pratyuddeśaś ca nirdeśaḥ pañjikā padabhañjikā || 4 ||

mahoddeśaś ca nirdeśaḥ ṭīkā sarvārthasūcikā |
abhijñālābhibhiḥ sā tu kartavyā naiva paṇḍitaiḥ || 5 ||

evaṃ ṣaṭkoṭibhiḥ śuddhaṃ vajrayogaiś caturvidhaiḥ |
catuḥsambodhibhiḥ skandhadhātvāyatanaṣaṭkulaiḥ || 6 ||

paṭalaiḥ pañcabhiḥ śuddhaṃ lokadhātvādikair mataiḥ |
satyābhyām ādibuddhaṃ syāt kālacakrābhidhānakam || 7 ||

ādau saptābhiṣeko yo bālānām avatāraṇam |
trividho lokasaṃvṛtyā caturthaḥ paramārthataḥ || 8 ||

Oṃ namaḥ kālacakrāya H.P. Shastri: *Oṃ namaḥ sarvajñāya* Manuscript leaf included in the *Pañjikā*, see *above* p. 128.

1-13a: see the Introduction p. 127.

8: Vajrapāṇi, fol. 54b.

satyadvayena dharmāṇām deśanā vajriṇo mama |
lokasaṃvṛtisatyena satyena paramārthataḥ || 9 ||

udakamukuṭapaṭṭo vajraghaṇṭā mahāvratam |
nāmānujñāsamāyuktaḥ sekaḥ saptavidho nṛpa || 10 ||

kāyavākcittasaṃśuddhir abhiṣekadvayaṃ dvayam |
anujñā jñānaśuddhiḥ syād anyā dhātvādiśuddhitaḥ || 11 ||

udakaṃ dhātusaṃśuddhir mauli skandhaviśodhanam |
paṭṭaḥ pāramitāśuddhir vajraghaṇṭā mahākṣaram || 12 ||

buddhabhāṣā na vicchinnā arkendvekatraśodhanam |
viṣayendriyasaṃśuddhiḥ syād vajravratam acyutam || 13 ||

nāma maitryādiśuddhiḥ syād anujñā buddhaśodhanam |
ete sapta sekā deyā vartayitvā tu maṇḍalam || 14 ||

kumbho guhyābhiṣekaś ca prajñājñānābhidhānakaḥ |
punar eva mahāprajñā tasyā jñānābhidhānakaḥ || 15 ||

kṣaraḥ kṣaras tataḥ spando niḥspandaś ca tato 'paraḥ |
kāyavākcittasaṃśuddhyā abhiṣekatrayaṃ kramāt || 16 ||

caturtho jñānasaṃśuddhiḥ kāyavākcittaśodhakaḥ |
bālaḥ prauḍhas tathā vṛddhaś caturthas tu prajāpatiḥ || 17 ||

prajñāstanāṅgasaṃsparśād bodhicittacyutaṃ sukham |
payodharābhiṣiktaḥ sa bālaḥ prāptaṃ yataḥ sukham || 18 ||

14: Pāda 14d, *vartayitvā tu maṇḍalam* occurs in the Hevajratantra, II, I, 2.

15-23a: *Kaṇikā* (quoted in *Dhīḥ*, IX, pp. 29, 30). Stanza 15 is also quoted in the *Ḍākinījālasaṃvararahasyam* (*Dhīḥ*, IX, pp. 151-161), p. 151 (= X, p. 34). Stanza 16b is quoted in *Dhīḥ*, X, p. 39 (from the *Kaṇikā* and with the variant *vimalo 'paraḥ* in the second *pāda*).

15-17a: Vajrapāṇi, fol. 54b.

guhyāsphālāc cirāj jātaṃ bodhicittacyutaṃ sukham |
prauḍho guhyābhiṣiktaḥ sa guhyāt prāptaṃ yataḥ sukham || 19 ||

guhyāsphālāc cirāj jātaṃ vajrāgre spandataḥ sukham |
prajñājñānābhiṣiktaḥ sa vṛddhaḥ spandaṃ gato yataḥ || 20 ||

mahāmudrānurāgād yaj jātaṃ niḥspandataḥ sukham |
mahāprajñābhiṣiktaḥ sa yato niḥspandatāṃ gataḥ || 21 ||

prajāpatiḥ sa vijñeyo janakaḥ sarvatāyinām |
vajrasattvo mahāsattvo bodhisattvo 'dvayo 'kṣaraḥ || 22 ||

asau samayasattvaḥ syād vajrayogaś caturvidhaḥ |
kālacakra iha khyāto yoginām muktidāyakaḥ || 23 ||

asyaiva sādhanaṃ kuryāt pratibhāsair acintitaiḥ |
dhūmādibhir nimittais taiḥ prajñābimbair nabhaḥsamaiḥ || 24 ||

astināstivyatikrāntaiḥ pratyayārthaiḥ svacetasaḥ |
paramāṇurajaḥsaṃdohaiḥ sarvataḥ parivarjitaiḥ || 25 ||

dhūmamarīcikhadyotadīpajvālendubhāskaraiḥ |
tamaḥ kalā mahābindur viśvabimbaṃ prabhāsvaram || 26 ||

pihitāpihitanetrābhyāṃ śūnye yan nānukalpitam |
dṛśyate svapnavad bimbaṃ tad bimbaṃ bhāvayet sadā || 27 ||

abhāve bimbe bhāvanā sā yoginām na bhāvanā |
bhāvo 'bhāvo na cittasya bimbe 'kalpitadarśanāt || 28 ||

24-26: *Kaṇikā.*
27: *Kaṇikā*; VC, fol. 75b.
28: The reading of *pādas* AB is certain. *Pāda* A is metrically irregular but the form *bimbe* is confirmed by Skr. commentaries

pratisenām ivādarśe paśyet kumāry avastujām |
tathātītānāgataṃ dharmaṃ yogy ambare 'pi paśyati || 29 ||

asyā bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syāt *vastuśūnyārthadarśanāt* |
vastuno 'bhāvato 'py arthaḥ *māyāsvapnendrajālavat* || 30 ||

asati dharmiṇi hy eṣa dharmotpādaḥ pradṛśyate |
cintāmaṇir ivānantasattvāśāparipūrakaḥ || 31 ||

adṛṣṭaṃ pratisenāyāṃ kumārī caurādi paśyati |
tat prādeśikanetrābhyāṃ gatvā paśyanti sādhakāḥ || 32 ||

yadi paśyati sadrūpaṃ svamukhaṃ kiṃ na paśyati |
yadi paśyaty asadrūpaṃ śaśaśṛṅgaṃ kathaṃ na ca || 33 ||

na paśyaty anyacakṣurbhyāṃ svacakṣurbhyāṃ na paśyati |
dṛśyamānam ajātaṃ tu *kumāryā jātakaṃ yathā* || 34 ||

dṛṣṭe bimbe tataḥ kuryāt prāṇāyāmaṃ nirantaram |
ūrdhvādhas triṣu nāḍīṣu kāyavākcittarodhanāt || 35 ||

candrārkarāhuviṇmūtraśukramārgapravāhiṣu |
toyāgniśūnyabhūvāyujñānadhātukajātiṣu || 36 ||

candrasūryataminya yāḥ kāyavākcittanāḍikāḥ |
viṇmūtraśukravāhinyaḥ prāṇe 'pāne krameṇa tāḥ || 37 ||

29-30. The reading is quite certain, as nearly all the words are quoted in the Skr. commentaries.

31-32: The reconstruction of these two stanzas is mainly based on the Tib. translations. The meaning is satisfactory, but the reading may be subject to some minor variations.

33-34: The reading is certain except the *pādapūraṇam tu* after *ajātam,* which could also be *ca*.

35-38; 39b-40: KR, fol. 33b. 35a: VC, fol. 2b.

candraḥ kāya upāyasya prajñāyā vāg divākaraḥ |
prajñākāyas tu viṇnāḍī vibhor vāṅ mūtravāhinī || 38 ||

*ūrddhvā*dho dve 'pi cittasya tamaḥśukrapravāhikau |
tamini cittam upāyasya prajñāyāḥ śukravāhinī || 39 ||

ūrddhvādhaḥ ṣaṭkulaṃ hy etāḥ kāyavākcittayogataḥ |
prajñopāyāṅgabhāvena saṃsthitaṃ sarvadehināṃ || 40 ||

ariṣṭam kāyavāṅnāḍyor ūrdhvādho 'dhikamārutaiḥ |
taminiśukravāhinyor utpādamaraṇasthitiḥ || 41 ||

*utpāda*mṛtyukāle ca maithune śukravāhinī |
taminī tu vahed ūrddhvaṃ viṣuve saṃkrame raveḥ || 42 ||

lagnodayābhisaṃdhau ca madhyā viṣuvavāhinī |
ṣaṭpañcāśat sapādaṃ ca praveśanirgame nṛpa || 43 ||

adhikaiḥ pañcasaptatyāḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ śatair divāniśam |
ṣaṭśatair adhikā cāpi yā sahasraikaviṃśatiḥ || 44 ||

anenonau pravāhinyau nāḍī vāmā ca dakṣiṇā |
*satripakṣa*trivarṣāṇi śatavarṣe ca madhyamā || 45 ||

vāmā savyordhve candro 'rko lalaneḍā piṅgalāparā |
toyatejaḥsvabhāvinyau padmadhṛg ratnadhṛṅ mate || 46 ||

41: The reconstruction is quite certain.

42: The meaning is sure, but the reading can admit some variants as, e.g. *mṛti* and *mithuna* for *mṛtyu* and *maithuna*, and, in *pāda* C, *tamini ca vahaty ūrddhvam*, etc. The first two *pāda*s may perhaps be reconstructed as *utpādamṛtyumaithunakāle syāc chukravāhini*. This reconstruction is more similar to Tib. translation A.

43-45: The reading of these stanzas too can admit some minor variants.

46-48: In my opinion, the reading of these stanzas is quite certain.

adho viṇmūtravāhinyau pṛthvīvāyusvabhāvikau |
madhyanāḍi ca vāmaiva *cakradhṛk khaḍgadhṛṅ mate* || 47 ||

ūrddhve madhyā ca savyādho rāhuśukrapravāhikau |
śūnyajñānasvabhāvinyau *vajradhṛg vajradhṛṅ mate* || 48 ||

*viṇ*nāḍī candramārgeṇa raviṇā mūtravāhinī |
utpādamṛtyuviṣuvakāme rāhuśukrāvahā || 49 ||

yā nābhyūrdhve 'vadhūtiḥ syāt suṣumnā tamovāhinī |
yā cādhaś śukravāhinī khagamukhā ca śaṅkhinī || 50 ||

nābhyabje hṛdaye kaṇṭhe lalāṭoṣṇīṣapaṅkaje |
bhūtoyāgnimarutśūnyaṃ saṃhāreṇa pravāhinī || 51 ||

nirgacchantī viśantī sā sṛṣṭinā viśati kṣitau |
nābheś ca nābhimadhye syād avadhūter gatāgatam || 52 ||

nābhau guhye ca maṇyabje kāyavākcittavāhinī |
nirgacchantī viśantī ca saṃhārasṛṣṭirūpiṇī || 53 ||

śaṅkhinī sarvasattvānām apānavāyuvāhinī |
eṣaiva ca sukhāt strīṇāṃ śukraraktāvahā ṛtau || 54 ||

*prajñopāyā*ṅgabhāvena ūrdhve savyāpasavyayor |
adho viṇmūtravāhinyor rajaḥśukrapravāhayor || 55 ||

49: I think that the reading is certain, except perhaps °*kāme*, which can be substituted by °*ratau* or °*rāge*.

50: The reading is certain, as all the words are quoted in the commentaries, in full agreement with the Tib. translations.

51, 52a, 53: *Vimalaprabhā,* p. 228.

54: The reading of the first three *pādas* is certain. *Pāda* D may be perhaps read as *śukraraktaṃ* (or *śukraraktau*) *vahed ṛtau*.

55-63: The text of this group of stanzas is quite certain as nearly all the words and some *pādas* too are quoted in the Skr. commentaries.

caṇḍālī rajaso vāhāt śukravāhāt khagamukhā |
ūrddhve ṛtau smṛtā strīṇāṃ ḍombī puṃsas tv avadhūtī || 56 ||

vijñānādyaṃ sadā vāme nāḍyāṃ syāt pañcamaṇḍalam |
bhūmyādi dakṣiṇe nāḍyāṃ madhye ṣaṣṭhaṃ punar vahet || 57 ||

nābhipadmadale ṣaṣṭi maṇḍalāni yathākramam |
vāmadakṣiṇalagne tu meṣādivṛṣabhādīṣu ca || 58 ||

mūle vāme tataḥ savye ūrdhvaṃ madhye 'nilaḥ kramāt |
daṇḍaikaṃ maṇḍalaikaikaṃ *bhūmyādyaṃ nāsarandhrayoḥ* || 59 ||

nāḍikā vahati śvāsān saṣaṣṭitriśatān kramāt |
aṣṭādaśaśataśvāsān nāḍyā vahanti pañca ca || 60 ||

*ṣaṣṭi*daṇḍān ahorātraṃ maṇḍalānīti dehataḥ |
dalamadhye tataḥ pūrve savye vāme 'pare kramāt || 61 ||

ākāśādyaṃ sadā vāme bhūmyādyaṃ dakṣiṇe 'parāt |
vijñānādi bhavo vāme *saṃhāraḥ kṣmādi dakṣiṇe* || 62 ||

pare pūrve dharā vāyuḥ prajñopāyau parasparam |
*aṅguṣṭhā*nāmikābhyāṃ ca yato seko mukhe bhavet || 63 ||

savye 'gnir udakaṃ vāme prajñopāyau parasparam |
madhyamātarjanībhyāṃ ca yataḥ khaḍgo bhaviṣyati || 64 ||

62: The two first pādas are quoted by VC, fol. 23a (*kramāt* for *'parāt*). The first and fourth pādas are quoted in KR, fol. 32a (*tathā* for *sadā*).

63b: *Pāda* C may be perhaps read as *aṅguṣṭhānāmikāgrābhyām*, even if *agra* is not represented in the Tib. translations. In the *Pañjikā*, the reading is *aṅguṣṭhānāmikādvābhyām*, which looks like a mistake for °*grābhyām*. In a similar context *aṅguṣṭhānamikāgrābhyām* occurs in the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇam* of Āryadeva, 22b.

64, 65: The text of this stanza is certain, except that perhaps the two lines of stanza 65 should be read in inverted order.

śūnyam akṣaram ūrdhvādhaḥ prajñopāyau parasparam |
ardhacandrākṛtī daṃṣṭrāmudrā kartī kanīyasī || 65 ||

daśamaṇḍalasaṃyogas tv aṅgulīnāṃ parasparam |
mūrdhni karatale yogād *ekaśūkaṃ sakartikam* || 66 ||

viṣuvaṃ madhyamānāḍyāṃ sṛṣṭisaṃhārakārakam |
skandhadhātutrivajrānām ekatvaṃ madhyamāgatau || 67 ||

*candrārka*nāḍirodhād viṇmūtranāḍī nirudhyate |
*rāhu*nāḍya adho rodhāc chukravāho nirudhyate || 68 ||

muktā bhavanti mokṣe tāḥ sṛṣṭisaṃhārakārakāḥ |
saṃcāra eṣa nāḍīnāṃ prāṇāpānatrivartmanā || 69 ||

vāmāyāṃ dakṣiṇāyāṃ vaikarātram atha pañca ca |
yady adhiko vahed vāyus trivarṣair maraṇaṃ tadā || 70 ||

*pañca*diktithiviṃśatis tattvam ekottarakramāt |
trayastriṃśaddinārohaḥ sūryāriṣṭena dakṣiṇe || 71 ||

tridvyekasamakair māsaiḥ ṣaṭtriyugmendubhir dinaiḥ |
tithidikpañcaguṇadvyekair dehināṃ jīvitaṃ gatam || 72 ||

mūlād ekottareṇa syād vāme candrasya rohaṇam |
dinair māsair dinair māsair tribhir māsair tribhir dinaiḥ || 73 ||

66-67: These two stanzas are certain. The two first *pādas* are quoted by VC, fol. 23a (*kramāt* for *'parāt*). The first and fourth *pāda* are quoted in KR, fol. 32 a (*tathā* for *sadā*).

69: In *pāda* A perhaps we can read *muktā mokṣe bhavanti tāḥ*. The reading *saṃcāra eṣa nāḍīnām* occurs in the *Ṭippaṇi*.

70-75: The text of these stanzas is mainly certain and can be the object of minor variations only.

ariṣṭadinamāseṣu tadvṛddhes tatkṣayāt tataḥ |
*madhyamā*rohaṇaṃ mṛtyoḥ śatavarṣe paripūrite || 74 ||

*samaviṣama*dinaiś ca janmajātasya maṇḍalaiḥ |
savyetare tadārohaḥ pakṣadvayavināśanāt || 75 ||

anyathā maraṇaṃ na syāt pakṣadvayasya saṃsthiteḥ |
savyetarasya saṃcārāt pañcamaṇḍalavāhanāt || 76 ||

ariṣṭalakṣaṇaṃ jñātvā prāṇaṃ bindau niveśayet |
avadhūtipadaṃ śritvā bhāvayet paramākṣaram || 77 ||

vajrotthānaṃ sadā kuryāt candrārkagatibhañjanāt |
anyathā nāvadhūtyaṅge viśati prāṇamārutaḥ || 78 ||

apāno 'dhaś ca śaṅkhinyāṃ maraṇaṃ tadaveśataḥ |
ariṣṭavañcanaṃ caitad *ānandaiḥ yogināṃ bhavet* || 79 ||

*śukrasyā*gatir ānandam uṣṇīṣād ūrṇṇāpaṅkaje |
kaṇṭhe hṛdi paramānandaṃ viramānandaṃ tato bhavet || 80 ||

vividharamaṇaṃ nābhau guhyapadme yato gatam |
vajramaṇau ca guhyasthe sahajānandam acyutam || 81 ||

76-77: The reading of these two stanzas does not present any doubt and the text is certain.

78: DK, p. 139 (the stanza is attributed to Virūpākṣapāda by Munidatta). The stanza is quoted in *Dhiḥ,* II, p. 59.

79: The reading is certain. *Pāda* D is quoted in the *Tippaṇi*.

80: The words *ānandam* etc. are treated as neuter in the *Sekoddeśa*, as attested by the author of the *Pañjikā*. *Pādas* CD are hypermetric, but in my opinion the reading is certain.

81: In my opinion the reading of this stanza too is quite certain. The Tib. translation B suggests a reading *yadi* (*gal te*) for *yato*, but I think that *yato* is more consistent with the meaning.

apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇaṃ mahārāgo 'kṣaraḥ prabhuḥ |
virāgād yac cyutaṃ saukhyaṃ tan nirvāṇaṃ pratiṣṭhitam || 82 ||

śukrendūdaya uṣṇīṣe pūrṇā guhyasaroruhe |
ṣoḍaśī yā kalā maṇipadme sā vajramūrdhnigā || 83 ||

tadūrdhvaṃ cyutikālaḥ syāt *kṛṣṇapratipadāgame* |
virāgatas tv amāvasyām ūrṇāpadaṃ gato raviḥ || 84 ||

tasya ca ṣoḍaśī kalā uṣṇīṣakamale gatā |
naṣṭacandra iti khyātā viraktiḥ rāgasaukhyataḥ || 85 ||

adhaś candrāmṛtaṃ yāti maraṇe sarvadehinām |
ūrdhve sūryarajo rāhuvijñānaṃ bhāvalakṣaṇe || 86 ||

ataś candrāmṛtasyorddhve kartavyaṃ gamanaṃ nṛpa |
adho 'rkarajaso rāhuvijñānasyākṣare sukhe || 87 ||

ūrṇṇābje sarvabuddhānāṃ candrāmṛtasya pūrṇimā |
amā 'rkarajaso guhye kaloṣnīṣe maṇau tayoḥ || 88 ||

iti vajrapadaṃ śāstur viparītaṃ sarvadehinām |
apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇād viparītaṃ ca dhātavaḥ || 89 ||

82: VC, fol. 44a.

83-84: The reading is confirmed by the Skr. commentaries and by the Tib. translations. In 83, *pāda* D, I have preferred the reading *mūrdhnigā* (*Pañjikā*) to *mūrdhagā*, which however serves equally well.

85: The reading *virakteḥ* for *viraktiḥ* is perhaps also possible. Seemingly Nāropā and the *Pañjikā* read *viraktiḥ*.

86, 87: Vajragarbha, fol. 56a (*bhāvalakṣaṇam* for *bhāvalakṣaṇe*); 86: *Vimalaprabhā*, p. 223; KR, fol. 35a.

87, 88, 89a: VC, fol. 60b (*'rkarajasām* for *'rkarajaso*).

maṇau cittaṃ ca guhye vāṅ nābhau kāyo mahāsukhāt |
d*harmasaṃbhoganirmāṇakāyāḥ* śuddhāt spharanti te || 90 ||

adhopāyasya rājendra prajñāyā ūrdhvato bhavet |
kāyavajraṃ lalāte 'syāḥ *kaṇṭhe hṛnnābhipaṅkaje* || 91 ||

vākcittajñānavajrāṇi nirmāṇādyāt spharanti hi |
spharaṇaṃ skandhadhātūnāṃ syān nirāvaraṇāt sukhāt || 92 ||

karmamudrāsamāpattyā jñānamudrāvalambanaiḥ |
mahāmudraikayogena vṛddhiṃ yāti tad akṣaram || 93 ||

vṛddhasya na hi vṛddhiḥ syād kṣayaḥ kṣīṇasya naiva ca |
nāstamanam astamitasya noditasyāpi codayaḥ || 94 ||

na pradīptiḥ pradīptasya channasya nāpi chādanam |
jātasya naiva jātiḥ syān mṛtasya na mṛtir bhavet || 95 ||

muktasya nāpi muktiḥ syān nāsthitasyāsthitis tathā |
nābhavanaṃ abhūtasya bhūtasya bhavanaṃ na ca || 96 ||

kṣaraṇaṃ na kṣarasyāpy akṣaraṇaṃ nākṣarasya ca |
svabhāvābhāvadharmāṇāṃ māyotpādaḥ kṣayas tathā || 97 ||

90: The reading of this stanza is certain. In the following stanza Skr. commentaries point to *lalāṭe* as the opening word of the *pāda*, which in this case would be metrically irregular (*lalāṭe 'syāḥ kāyavajram* or *lalāṭe kāyavajram asyāḥ*).

92: In contrast to the Skr. commentaries, the Tib. translations suggest the reading *nirmāṇādyāḥ* for *nirmāṇādyāt*, which is surely the genuine one. As for the fourth *pāda*, it would be easy to restore it into *nirāvṛteḥ sukhād bhavet*, but in my opinion the proposed reading is more consistent with the style of the text.

93: KR, fol. 36a; 93b: VC, fol. 32b.

94-97a: With the exception of the words *vṛddhasya na hi vṛddhiḥ syād*, these stanzas have been reconstructed on the basis of Tib. translations and the text may be subject to some minor variations.

97b, 98: The text is certain. Verse 98b is quoted in full by Nāropā.

na kṣayaṃ yānti bhūtāni na jāyante svabhāvataḥ |
niḥsvabhāvam idaṃ viśvaṃ bhāvābhāvaikalakṣaṇam || 98 ||

*svaprajñā*liṅgitaṃ cittaṃ padme vajramaṇau gatam |
tatra candragataspando niḥspandākṣarabhāvanā || 99 ||

kāyavākcittanāḍīṣu kāyavākcittabhāvanā |
trivajrānāṃ samāhāraḥ śaṅkhinyāṃ jñānabhāvanā || 100 ||

prajñārāgadrutānāṃ tu bindūnāṃ śirasaḥ kramāt |
pūrṇāpadaṃ praviṣṭānāṃ *bandhanaṃ paramārthataḥ* || 101 ||

yathoditaḥ kramāc candraḥ kalābhiḥ pūrṇatāṃ vrajet |
vāsanāharaṇe pūrṇo na chedo 'sya na pūraṇam || 102 ||

tathoditaṃ kramāj jñānaṃ bhūmibhiḥ pūrṇatāṃ vrajet |
kleśādyāharaṇe pūrṇaṃ na chedo 'sya na pūraṇam || 103 ||

*yathā madhyaśa*śāṅkaś ca pūrṇāyāṃ na sthiraḥ śaśī |
saṃsāravāsanālakṣaṇāc cittaṃ tathākṣare sukhe || 104 ||

*utpatti*hānipakṣau ca śuklakṛṣṇau pratiṣṭhitau |
tanmadhyagā tu yā pūrṇā pūrṇāyāṃ sāpratiṣṭhitā || 105 ||

99: The author of the *Pañjikā* suggests a reading *yatra maṇau* for *vajramaṇau*, which is the reading accepted by the Tib. translation. The reading followed by the author of the *Pañjikā* is equally good.

100, 101: The restoration of these two stanzas is assured word for word by the Skr. commentaries and the Tib. translations.

102-103: The reading is certain and only the reconstruction of *pāda* D in both stanzas presents any doubt. The proposed text *na chedo 'sya na pūraṇam* could equally be read as *nāsya chedo na pūraṇam* or *na chedo nāsya pūraṇam*. The Tib. translators make *asya* explicit by the renderings *candrasya* and *jñānasya* respectively.

104-107: The restoration is assured both by the commentaries and the Tib. translations. In stanza 104 *pāda* D is hypermetric but it is quoted in the commentaries. The first *pāda* of 105 may be perhaps read as *utpattivyayapakṣau ca*.

ekakṣaṇābhisaṃbuddhaṃ pūrṇāyāṃ niścalaṃ bhavet |
yadā vajramaṇau cittaṃ tat sarvakṣaṇapūrakam || 106 ||

na sthitiḥ śuklapakṣe 'sya gamanaṃ nāpi cāsite |
pakṣadvayasya madhyasthaṃ pūrṇāyāṃ gatam advayam || 107 ||

uṣṇiṣād udayaś cāsya pūrṇā vajramaṇau bhavet |
savirāgāt kalāhānir vajrād dhāneḥ prapūrṇatā || 108 ||

bhūya udaya uṣṇīṣe bhūyo maṇau ca pūrṇatā |
savirāgāt kalāhānir jñānahānir na dehināṃ || 109 ||

mahāsukhasvabhāvo 'sya pūrṇāśabdena giyate |
anyabhāvāntaraṃ sarvaṃ sṛṣṭisaṃhārakārakam || 110 ||

svapakṣābhyāṃ yathā candro 'yanābhyāṃ cāpi bhāskaraḥ |
bhavān nirvāṇam udbhūtaṃ tataḥ punar bhaved bhavaḥ || 111 ||

pūrṇāyāṃ niścalasyāsya bhūmibhiḥ paripūrṇatā |
*dvyayuta*dvyaṣṭaśataśvāsair akṣarakṣaṇabhakṣitaiḥ || 112 ||

*pakṣadvaya*vivarjitaṃ paripūrṇaṃ ca bhūmibhiḥ |
dvādaśākārasatyārthaṃ ṣoḍaśākāram akṣaram || 113 ||

bhūmibhir dvādaśākāram āpūrṇaṃ paramādvayam |
kalābhiś cittam āpūrṇaṃ ṣoḍaśākāram akṣaram || 114 ||

108-109: As far as I can judge from the Skr. commentaries and the Tib. translations, the reading of these two stanzas is fairly safe.

110: *Kaṇikā* (quoted in *Dhiḥ*, IX, p. 28).

111-113: The reconstruction of these three stanzas does not give rise to particular doubts and is in substantial agreement with the Skr. commentaries and the Tib. translations.

114: The form *āpūrṇam*, which also occurs elsewhere in the *Sekoddeśa* (cf. 159 C) is seemingly confirmed by Nāropā, who explains it as *samantāt kalābhiḥ pūrṇam*.

ekārtham advayadharmaṃ paramārtham avinaśvaram |
pūrṇāvasthāgataṃ cittaṃ paripūrṇaṃ samantataḥ || 115 ||

virāgādimahārāgaṃ kāyavajraṃ mahākṣaraṃ |
paripūrṇaṃ dvipakṣayor vāsanābhir anābilam || 116 ||

yathā nadyudakaṃ viṣṭaṃ samudre tatsamaṃ bhavet |
tathā bhāvasamūho 'yam akṣare tatsamo bhavet || 117 ||

yathā dhātusamūho 'yaṃ rasatāṃ bhakṣito gataḥ |
bijair bījasvabhāvaṃ ca phalakāle mānavarjitam || 118 ||

evaṃ bhāvasamūho 'pi *paramākṣarabhakṣitaḥ* |
paramākṣaratāṃ yāti *sarvākārasvarūpadhṛk* || 119 ||

na daṃśe vedanāṃ vetti nānyatra cāpi daṣṭakaḥ |
na viṣayān indriyadvāraiḥ pūrṇāvasthāṃ viṣe gate || 120 ||

evaṃ na ca maṇau yogī nānyatra vetti satsukham |
na viṣayān indriyadvāraiḥ citte pūrṇakalāṃ gate || 121 ||

115: This verse, irregular and hypermetric, is, with some minor variations, *Nāmasaṃgīti*, 123 (ix, 5): *ekārtho 'dvayadharmārthaḥ paramārtho 'vinaśvaraḥ* |.

116: The reconstruction of this stanza is certain, except perhaps for *pāda* C, where we may read *ca pakṣayor* for *dvipakṣayor*.

117: The meaning is clear but the reading is in some way provisional, as there are some other possible ways of rendering the concept. The reading accepted by me is, I think, the more probable and symmetrical.

118, 119: The reading is certain. In the fourth *pāda* of stanza 118, which is hypermetric, the reading *mānavarjitaṃ* is assured by the author of the *Pañjikā*.

120, 121: The reconstruction of these two stanzas does not give rise to difficulties, as all the words and four entire *pādas* are cited in the commentaries. *Pāda* C is hypermetric in both stanzas but the proposed reading occurs twice in Nāropā and I think it is the genuine one, even if one could easily venture a correction to *viṣayān nendriyadvāraiḥ*. In *pāda* A of stanza 121 both the commentaries and the Tib. translations suggest reading *vajramaṇau* for *maṇau*, in which case the *pāda* would be *evaṃ vajramaṇau yogī* or, as a hypermetron, *evaṃ na vajramaṇau yogī*.

yathā lohaikadeśe 'pi saṃsthito hi mahārasaḥ |
lohaṃ tīvrāgnisaṃtaptaṃ vedhayed āsamantataḥ || 122 ||

tathaivaikapradeśe 'pi saṃsthitaṃ sukham akṣaram |
cittaṃ kāmāgnisaṃtaptaṃ vedhayed āsamantataḥ || 123 ||

yathā ca viddhalohānāṃ naiva malo bhavet kvacit |
tathā ca viddhacittānāṃ na vāsanā bhavet kvacit || 124 ||

suvarṇatvaṃ gato loho 'gninā hy evāmalo bhavet |
tathā punaḥ punaś cittaṃ rāgāgnināmalaṃ bhavet || 125 ||

yathā mahāmaṇisparśād yāti śilā pradīptatām |
tathākṣarasukhasparsāt sukhatāṃ cittam eti vai || 126 ||

kim atra bahunoktena lokasaṃvṛtisatyataḥ |
avitarkyo rasasadbhāvo lohasyāvedhanaṃ prati || 127 ||

vitarkyo rasasadbhāvaḥ kiṃ punaḥ paramārthataḥ |
malāgantukaliptasya cittasyāvedhanaṃ prati || 128 ||

nāgantuko malo citte na cittāc cirakālikaḥ |
na cittena vinā jāto na citte saṃsthito 'vyayaḥ || 129 ||

yady āgantuka eva syāc cittaṃ prāg amalaṃ tadā |
cirakālī yadā cittāt tasyaiva saṃbhavaḥ kutaḥ || 130 ||

yadi cittaṃ vinā jātas tadā khakusumaṃ yathā |
yadi sthitaḥ sadā citte na naśyet sarvataḥ tadā || 131 ||

122-123: VC, fol. 25a, fol. 39b.

124-125: My restoration is mainly founded on the Tib. translations.

126-131: The reading of these five stanzas as reconstructed by me may be considered as certain. It is confirmed both by the Skr. commentaries and by the Tib. translations.

tāmrasya kalimā yadvad rasayogena naśyati |
na tasya sattvatā naśyen nirmalatvena yā sthitā || 132 ||

tadvac cittamalaḥ śūnyatāyogena pranaśyati |
na tasya jñānatā naśyen nirmalatvena yā sthitā || 133 ||

rasaviddho yathā loho na punar lohatāṃ vrajet |
sukhaviddhaṃ tathā cittaṃ na punar duḥkhatāṃ vrajet || 134 ||

na virāgāt paraṃ pāpaṃ na puṇyaṃ sukhataḥ param |
ato 'kṣarasukhe cittaṃ veśanīyaṃ sadā nṛpa || 135 ||

vaktuṃ na śakyate saukhyaṃ kumāryāḥ surataṃ vinā |
yauvane surataṃ prāpya svato vetti mahāsukham || 136 ||

evaṃ na śakyate vaktuṃ samādhirahitaiḥ sukham |
samādhāv akṣaraṃ prāpya svato vindanti yoginaḥ || 137 ||

*akṣaraja*sukhajñāne sarvajñair api śaṅkyate |
tathā kvacin na kartavyo virāgo manaso 'sukhāt || 138 ||

132, 133: TJS, p. 21 (quoted in *Dhīḥ*, II, p. 60).

134: Vajragarbha, fol. 50a. Actually this is not a quotation but a stanza strikingly similar to SU 134: *rasaviddhaṃ yathā tāmraṃ na punas tāmratāṃ vrajet* | *jñānaviddhaḥ tathā kāyo na punaḥ paśutāṃ vrajet* ||

135: Vajrapāṇi, fol. 69b; *Kaṇikā* (=*Dhīḥ*, X, p. 49) KR, fol. 32b; 135a: VC, fol. 14b; TJS, p. 3; DK, 154 (=*Dhīḥ*, II, p. 50). Verse 135a occurs in an identical form in the *Caṇḍāmahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, 6, 183: see the *Caṇḍāmahāroṣaṇatantra* by Ch. S. George, New Haven, Connecticut, 1974.

136-137: *Kaṇikā* (quoted in *Dhīḥ*, X, p. 49).

138: The reconstruction of this stanza is doubtful. It is not commented on either by Nāropā or by the other commentators and the Tib. translations are in disagreement. Tentatively, I have rendered it in Skr. according to Tib. translation A, which makes good sense: see e. g. Anaṅgavajra, *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi*, II, 3, *idaṃ tad iti tad vaktuṃ naiva śakyaṃ jinair api*. If we take *śaṅkyate* (however *śaṅk-* seems to be confirmed by the Tib. translations) as a misreading for *śakyate*, one could perhaps

cyuter virāgasaṃbhūtir virāgād duḥkhasaṃbhavaḥ |
duḥkhād dhātukṣayaḥ puṃsāṃ kṣayān mṛtyur iti smṛtaḥ || 139 ||

mṛtyoḥ punar bhavas teṣāṃ bhavān mṛtyuś cyutiḥ punaḥ |
evaṃ virāgasaṃbhūteḥ sattvānāṃ nānyathā bhavaḥ || 140 ||

tasmāt sarvaprayatnena cyutirāgaṃ vivarjayet |
yenākṣarasukhaṃ yāti yogi saṃsārabandhanāt || 141 ||

kāmuko 'pi virāgān na kāmaśāstraṃ samīhate |
mayokte kiṃ punaḥ tantre yogi duḥkhaṃ samīhate || 142 ||

śukrākṣarasvabhāvena sādhayet paramākṣaram |
ādhāre cyutim āpanne ādheyasya virāgatā || 143 ||

ādhārādheyasaṃbandho yāvan nākṣaratāṃ vrajet |
cittam akṣaratāprāptaṃ nādhārādheyalakṣaṇam || 144 ||

*akṣaro*dbhavakāyasya ūrṇṇācakragatasya tu |
ālikālisamāyogo hūṃkāro neṣyate nṛpa || 145 ||

reconstruct the line as *akṣarajasukhaṃ jñātuṃ sarvajñair nāpi śakyate*. In any case there is no guarantee whatsoever that the afore-said translations represent the original text. In *pādas* CD the words *kartavyo virāgo manaso 'sukhād* seem to be certain, but this is not the case for the beginning of the line. I think that the proposed reconstruction is the more probable, but the readings *tathā na jātu* or *tathāpi naiva* are also possible.

139-141: KR, fol. 35a (*prajāyate* for *iti smṛtaḥ* and *maraṇāt* for *mṛtyoḥ*); 139: Vajrapāṇi, fol. 69b; *Dhiḥ*, I, 35; *Ḍākinijālasaṃvararahasyam* (*Dhiḥ*, IX, pp. 151-161), p. 154 and *Dhiḥ*, X, p. 25; 139 ḥ TJS, p. 3. See S.B.Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta 1958, p. 164, note 1.

141-144: TJS, p. 17 (quoted in *Dhiḥ*, II, p. 63). Stanza 143 is quoted in SS, p. 33 (see *Dhiḥ*, IV, p. 27) with the reading: *śukrākṣaraṇayogena bhāvayet paramākṣaram*. 144:. KR, fol. 40b; 144 f: VC, fol. 53a. For *yāvan nākṣaratāṃ vrajet*, TJS, KR and VC read *yāvad akṣaratāṃ vrajet*.

145: The reconstruction of this stanza is confirmed both by the commentaries and the Tib. translations.

bimbaṃ śūnyodbhavaṃ hetuḥ phalam akṣarajaṃ sukham |
phalena mudrito hetur hetunā mudritaṃ phalam || 146 ||

śūnyatā bimbadhṛg hetuḥ karuṇākṣaradhṛk phalam |
śūnyatākaruṇābhinnaṃ bodhicittaṃ tad acyutam || 147 ||

nirvāṇarahitaṃ bimbaṃ saṃsārātītam akṣaram |
śāśvatocchedanirmuktas tayor yogo 'dvayo 'paraḥ || 148 ||

abhāvo nāsti bimbasya *abhāvodbhūtalakṣaṇāt* |
bhāvo nāsty akṣarasyāpi *bhāvasambhūtalakṣaṇāt* || 149 ||

*bhāvā*bhāvasamāyogo vajrayogo 'dvayo 'paraḥ |
rūpārūpavinirmuktaḥ pratiseneva darpaṇe || 150 ||

bimbaṃ na bhavam āyāti nāpi nirvāṇam akṣaram |
anyonyāliṅgitaṃ śāntaṃ napuṃsakapadaṃ param || 151 ||

prajñā hetor ajātatvāt prajñāhetūdbhavaṃ phalam |
prajñā hetor ajātatvāt prajñājātaṃ na hetujam || 152 ||

ato na hetujaṃ jñānaṃ prajñājñānam anuttaram |
phalena hetunānyonyaṃ na parasparamudraṇam || 153 ||

hetuḥ phalaṃ ca yat sarvaṃ tat pratītyasamudbhavam |
*anyonya*mudritaṃ bimbaṃ notpannaṃ na ca nirvṛtam || 154 ||

146a: KR, fol. 35b.

146b: Vajragarbha, fol. 49a.

147-151: The reading of these stanzas does not present any difficulty as the Skr. commentaries and the Tib. translations are in substantial agreement.

152: The first and third *pādas* of this stanza may equally be read as *prajñā hetor na jātatvāt*.

153-155: As far as I can judge, the proposed text is quite certain.

prajñā cātyantanirvṛtā utpannaś ca paro 'kṣaraḥ |
hetuphalavinirmuktir na parasparamudraṇam || 155 ||

ajātasyāniruddhasya yaj jñeyasyeha darśanam |
tat svacittasya nānyasya bāhyajñeyavibhāgataḥ || 156 ||

ato na cātmanātmānaṃ mudrituṃ śakyate kvacit |
kiṃ chinatti mahākhaḍga ātmānam ātmadharayā || 157 ||

vandhyāduhitṛsaṃgena svapne saukhyaṃ yathā bhavet |
gaganodbhavabimbena sevitena tathātmanaḥ || 158 ||

na prajñā nāpy upāyo 'sau sahajaḥ prajñayā saha |
āpūrṇaś caiva saukhyena sarvāvaraṇavarjitaḥ || 159 ||

ākāśavan nirāvaraṇo viṣayendriyavarjitaḥ |
sarvataḥ sarvabhūtastha acchedyo bhedavarjitaḥ || 160 ||

svayambhūr vajrasattvo 'sau mahārthaḥ paramākṣaraḥ |
mahārāgo mahāsattvaḥ sarvasattvaratiṃkaraḥ || 161 ||

bodhisattvo mahādveṣaḥ kleṣakṣayī mahāripuḥ |
samayasattvo mahāmoho mūḍhadhīmohasūdanaḥ || 162 ||

vajrayogo mahākrodhaḥ kruddhamāramahāripuḥ |
kālacakro mahālobhaḥ kṣaralobhaniṣūdanaḥ || 163 ||

156-158: GBh, p. 40.

159: The proposed text seems to be certain. One could perhaps read the first *pāda* of stanza 160 as *ākāśavan nirāvṛtir*, to avoid the hypermetron, but I think that the accepted form is more consistent with the style of the text.

161-164: The text of these three stanzas of *uddeśa* is confirmed by the Skr. commentaries and the Tib. translations. Almost all the epithets derive from the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. The reading of *pādas* AB of stanza 164 is confirmed by Nāropā, who says *vajraṃ śūnyabimbaṃ tad yasmād abhedyaṃ tasmān mahārtham āhoddeśe*.

vajram abhedyam ity āha mahārthaṃ bhagavān iha |
sattvaṃ tribhavasyaikatā tad uktaṃ paramākṣaram || 164 ||

paramākṣarasukhāpūrṇo bhūmibhiḥ paripūritaḥ |
mahārāgo mahāsattvaḥ sarvasattvaratiṃkaraḥ || 165 ||

bodhau vyavasthitaḥ sattvo bodhisattvas tato 'calaḥ |
kleśādidveṣasaṃghānāṃ mahādveṣo mahāripuḥ || 166 ||

samayaś candrāmṛtaṃ śukram acyutis tasya bhakṣaṇam |
samayasattvo 'nayā yuktyā mūḍhadhimohasūdanaḥ || 167 ||

ekatvaṃ sarvavajrānāṃ prajñākāyākṣaraiḥ saha |
mahākrodho mahāśatrur mārāṇāṃ krodharūpiṇām || 168 ||

mahākṣarasukhopāyāt sattvārthaṃ na tyajet kvacit |
sattvān muktvā mahālobho kṣaralobhaniṣūdanaḥ || 169 ||

ete hy uktāḥ ṣaḍākārā akṣarajñānavedanā |
vijñānarūpasaṃskārasaṃjñāḥ skandhakulāni te || 170 ||

jñānāgnyambarapṛthivīvāyūdakā yathākramam |
manaḥcakṣuḥśrutikāyanāsajihvās tathaiva ca || 171 ||

śabdarasadharmadhātukagandhaspraṣṭavyarūpiṇaḥ |
krodharāṭ ṣaṅmukho bhīmaḥ ṣaṭkulaiḥ pariśodhitaḥ || 172 ||

165: VC, fol. 23b.

166, 167: VC, fol. 23b (perhaps *vṛttyā* for *yuktyā*).

168: VC, fol. 24a.

169: VC, fol. 24a. For *muktvā*, the MS seemingly reads *moktuṃ*, which reading is equally possible.

170-172: These three stanzas have been reconstructed mainly from the Tib. translations and the reading cannot help but be provisional in places.

kāyaguhyendriyacittaṃ trividhaṃ maṇḍalaṃ sadā |
prajñopāyatrivajrāṇāṃ jāyate vajrasattvatā || 173 ||

idaṃ sekasya sādhanaṃ paramākṣarasādhanam |
nāḍīkulasamāyuktam uddeśāc candra bhāṣitam || 174 ||

173: The reading of this stanza is certain.

174: The two last *pādas* of this stanza can equally be read as *uddeśāt kathitaṃ candra nāḍikulasamanvitam*. In my opinion, the proposed reading is better.

XXXII. — SCARCIA G., *Ṣifat-Nāma-yi Darviš Muḥammad Ḫān-i Ġāzi.* Crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Laġmān, 1582.

XXXIII. — TAKASAKI J., *A study on the Ratnagotra-vibhāga* (*Uttaratantra*) being a treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

XXXIV. — RUEGG D.S., *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che, with the Tibetan text of the Bu ston rNam thar.*

XXXV. — SOPER A.C., *Chinese, Korean and Japanese bronzes.* A catalogue of the Auriti collection donated to IsMEO and preserved in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome.

XXVI. — *Orientalia Romana.* 2, Essays and Lectures by V.S. AGRAWALA, P. BEONIO-BROCCHIERI, P. CORRADINI, L. LANCIOTTI, NAMKHAI N. DEWANG.

XXXVII. — PENSA C., *L'Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti di Ārya-vimuktisena.* Sanskrit text.

XXXVIII. — BOYCE M., *The Letter of Tansar.* (*Literary and Historical Texts from Iran* - 1).

XXXIX. — *Orientalia Romana.* 3, *Ghalib.* Two essays by AHMED ALI and A. BAUSANI.

XL. — ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD, *Sino-Tibetan relations in the seventeenth century.*

XLI. — MOLÈ G., *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the time of the Five Dynasties.*

XLII. — WYLIE T.V., *A Tibetan religious Geography of Nepal.*

XLIII. — TUCCI G., *Minor Buddhist Texts.* Part III: *Third Bhāvanākrama.*

XLIV. — *Orientalia Romana,* 4, Essays by W. HEISSIG, A. TAMBURELLO, R. BEVIGLIA, L.P. MISHRA.

XLV. — PETECH L., *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet* (*1728-1959*).

XLVI. — CONZE E., *The Gilgit manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā. Chapters 70 to 82 corresponding to the 6th, 7th an 8th Abhisamayas.*

XLVII. — RICHARDSON H.E., *Ch' ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa.*

XLVIII. — *The Tārikh-e Sistān.* Translated by MILTON GOLD (*Literary and Historical Texts from Iran* - 2).

XLIX, 1-2 — GNOLI R., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* (2 vols.).

L. — GNOLI R., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu.*

LI. — PETECH L., *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.*

LII. — *Orientalia Romana,* 5, *Iranian Studies,* edited by G. GNOLI, Essays and Lectures by J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, J. KELLENS, P. LECOQ, G. WIDENGREN, I. GERSHEVITCH, PH. GIGNOUX, W. SUNDERMANN, G. GNOLI.

LIII. — SABATTINI M., *The Aesthetic Thought of Zhu Guangqian.*

LIV. — PETECH L., *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1482).* Second, thoroughly revised edition.

LV. — GNOLI R., *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci.* Con contributi di L. PETECH, F. SCIALPI, G. GALLUPPI VALLAURI.

LVI, 1-3 — *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata.* Edenda curaverunt G. GNOLI et L. LANCIOTTI.

LVII. — *Orientalia Romana.* 6, *The First European Colloquium of Iranology* (*Rome, June 18th-20th, 1983*), edited by G. GNOLI.

LVIII. — G. GNOLI, *Il commento di Abhinavagupta alla Parātriṃśikā* (Parātriṃśikātattvavivaraṇam). Traduzione e Testo.

LIX. — FORTE A., *On the Significance of the Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock.*

LX. — PETECH L., *Selected Papers on Asian History.*

LXI. — *Gaṅs ti se' i dKar c'ag. A Bon-po Story of the Sacred Mountain Ti-se and the Blue Lake Ma-paṅ.* Edited by Namkhai Norbu. Revised, collated and completed by R. PRATS.

LXII. — GNOLI G., *The Idea of Iran. An Essay on its Origin.*

LXIII. — *Oman Studies. Papers on the Archaeology and History of Oman.* Edited by P.M. COSTA and M. TOSI.

LXIV. — *Atti del Convegno sul tema: Mircea Eliade e le religioni asiatiche.* A cura di G. GNOLI.

LXV. — PETECH L., *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History.*

LXVI, 1-2. — *South Asian Archaeology 1987.* Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Island of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. Edited by M. TADDEI, with the assistance of P. CALLIERI.

LXVII, 1-2. — *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies.* Turin, 7th-11th September 1987. Edited by G. GNOLI and A. PANAINO.

LXVIII, 1. — PANAINO A., *Tištrya.* Part I: *The Avestan Hymn to Sirius.*

LXIX. — EMMERICK R.E. and PULLEYBLANK E.G., *A Chinese Text in Central Asian Brahmi Script* (in press).

LXX, 2 — *Arabia Antiqua. Hellenistic Centres around Arabia.* Edited by A. INVERNIZZI and J.F. SALLES.

LXXI — TORELLA R., *The Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā of Utpaladeva with the Author's Vṛtti.*

L. 40.000